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An Irish Quarterly Review

WINTER 1953

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Astronomical Cosmology

THE OBSERVATIONAL EVIDENCE

by H. A. BRÜCK, D.PHIL., PH.D.
Director of Dunsink Observatory

1. Introduction

A NUMBER of attempts have been made in recent years to arrive at a picture of the structure and history of the material universe as a whole on the basis of investigations of that part of it which is accessible to observation. This region has been extended greatly through work with powerful telescopes of high light-gathering power, and also through the discovery of new methods for the measurement of astronomical distances. Such methods allow us to place objects which are more than a million times farther than those which could be reached by the methods of classical astronomy.

As a result of these developments we have come to know for instance that what at the beginning of the century used to be called the stellar universe, is nothing but a small corner within a large assembly of stars and diffuse matter which on account of its relation to the phenomenon of the Milky Way we call the galaxy. Even this our galaxy, large though it is, has been recognized as being only one amongst a host of other similar galaxies which are scattered through space right out to the limit of vision of our largest telescopes. Though our present observations nowhere reach an end, certain features of the realm of galaxies and particularly its observed expansion show it to be part of a coherent cosmos whose structure, we hope, may be glimpsed from our findings within the region open to observation.

The discussion of the structure in space and time of the material universe at large constitutes the field of astronomical cosmology. Cosmological problems of a general sort are obviously as old as mankind. Their formulation in scientific terms, however, is of only recent origin. In fact, apart from one or two earlier, but rather tentative discussions, astronomical cosmology started seriously only a little over thirty years ago in the days of the creation of the theory of general relativity and of the discovery of the recession of the galaxies. Both cosmological theory and observation have come very much into the foreground in recent years and particularly since the 200-inch telescope on Palomar Mountain, California, has been brought into operation whose great light gathering power allows us to penetrate twice as far into space as was possible previously.

An attempt has been made to summarize the present state of cosmology in two articles of which this first one is to outline the observational background and the second to describe the essential features of the various theories which are under discussion at the present time. It may be mentioned here already that our views concerning the scale of the universe have suffered a radical change in the course of the past year as a result of recent observations with the 200-inch telescope. It would appear to be the more desirable therefore to find out how exactly large astronomical distances are measured, and what degree of accuracy applies to such measurements.

2. The Distribution of Matter in the Observable Region of the Universe

Before giving our present picture of the universe, it might be well to review briefly the different stages by which this has been reached. It is well known that for centuries the universe of matter was visualized as being enclosed within a finite sphere. Astronomical interest was centred in the problem of unravelling the intricate movements of Sun, Moon and planets, which were recorded with respect to the positions of the stars which themselves were assumed to be fixed on to a sphere somewhere in the background.

The stars remained background objects of little interest in themselves when in the 16th century Copernicus introduced his new description of planetary movements. One fact concerning stellar distances emerged, however, at that time, namely that they must be large as compared with the dimensions of the Earth's orbit round the Sun. If this were not so, the annual movement of an observer round the Sun should be reflected in a similar oscillation of the stars round their mean positions on the celestial sphere, an effect which at the time of Copernicus could not be detected in the case of any star.

Two centuries later, in Newton's days, when the planetary movements were explained in terms of his law of universal gravitation, the concept of infinite space was first seriously discussed. It was at that time that Halley, assuming that the law of gravitation holds throughout the universe, drew attention to the necessary conclusion that such an infinite universe would have to be filled with matter out into infinity as otherwise the universe would collapse through the effect of gravitation.

However, the horizon of astronomical observation was not extended beyond the confines of the planetary system until the time (about 150 years ago) of William Herschel, the founder of modern stellar astronomy. *Coelorum perrupit claustra*, as his epitaph says, and indeed he was the first to attack systematically the problem of the stars which up till then had only served as convenient reference marks for the measurement of planetary movements.

Herschel succeeded in deriving an approximate picture of the distribution of the stars in space in spite of the fact that with all his powerful telescopes he was still unable to measure the distance of a single star. He derived that distribution from systematic star counts in different regions of the sky, and making the assumption that all stars have the same intrinsic luminosity or candle power, or in other words that faint stars are correspondingly more distant than bright ones. From the observed irregular distribution of the stars in the sky—there are far more stars in regions in or near the belt of the Milky Way than in equal areas further away from it—Herschel concluded that the stars cannot be distributed at random in space, but that they are members of a large flattened cluster whose outline he compared to that of a mill stone. The plane of the Milky Way represents in Herschel's system the greatest extension of the cluster.

Among Herschel's many observations one which is also important to cosmology was his discovery of the existence of double stars. In such objects two stars revolve around each other in a way which shows that Newton's law of gravitation remains valid beyond the boundaries of the solar system.

3. The Measurement of Stellar Distances

The problem of the measurement of stellar distances, the goal of many generations of astronomers, was solved for the first time a little over a hundred years ago by Bessel in the case of a certain star in the constellation Cygnus. His method is based on the so-called method of annual parallax which involves the observation of the small annual shifts, due to the Earth's motion round the Sun, and looked for without success by Copernicus and Herschel, in the positions of the stars on the celestial sphere.

If we except the Moon whose distance from the Earth can be gauged by radar reflections from its surface, all distance measurement in astronomy depends, obviously, on the use of the properties of light. Two such properties are of particular importance, its propagation in vacuo in straight lines, and the way in which the brightness of a luminous object diminishes with its distance. This latter principle had first been applied in some early estimations of the distances of bright stars such as Sirius. Assuming that the Sun is a star and that all stars are equally luminous, Huyghens in the 17th century compared the brightness of Sirius with that of the reflection of sunlight from a small sphere. From his estimate of the brightness of the latter he concluded that Sirius must be about 30,000 times more distant than the Sun. This figure is twenty times too small, partly because Sirius is really more luminous than the Sun and would appear twenty-five times brighter if placed at the same distance, partly because of the crudeness of the experiment.

4. Stellar Distances from "Annual Parallaxes"

The method of annual parallax, first used by Bessel, has remained in spite of its limitations the foundation of all distance measurement in astronomy. In this method the distance of a star is found in principle by determining the positions of the star on the celestial sphere at half-yearly intervals, that is at times when the observer on the Earth has travelled through twice the radius of the Earth's orbit. Since this radius or the distance to the Sun is known with considerable accuracy, the distance of the star follows from the displacement of its position by simple trigonometry.

The annual parallax of a star, the measure of its distance, is defined as the angle subtended at the star by the radius of the Earth's orbit. This angle is always very small and amounts to only three quarters of a second of arc in the case of even the very nearest star.

Distances in astronomy are often expressed in terms of "light years", that is in terms of the distance travelled by light in one year, which is equal to 6 million million miles. The nearest known star is 4.3 light years away. On the same scale the distance of the Sun is only 8 light minutes, and the largest dimension in the solar system, the diameter of Pluto's orbit, amounts to only 11 light hours. The distance of the very nearest star is therefore three thousand four hundred times greater than the extension of the whole planetary system.

Distances of the same order of several light years separate the stars in general from each other, at least in the region of space near the Sun, or, in other words, as far as stars are concerned, space is practically empty. This sparse distribution of stars is an important consideration when the chances of possible collisions between stars or the effects of collisions between galaxies are under discussion.

Annual parallaxes can be measured fairly accurately for stars out to distances of about 150 light years. At this distance the method requires the measurement of angles of about 0.02 seconds of arc, corresponding to the measurement of the thickness of a penny from a distance of 8 miles. Minute though this angle is, it can be measured with an accuracy of about 25 per cent. However, when annual parallaxes are to be extended to stars at any greater distances, the errors of measurement become so large that for instance if we spoke of a distance of 300 light years, the star might actually lie anywhere between 200 and 600 light years. This fundamental method of distance measurement covers therefore only a relatively very small region of space, in fact only the immediate neighbourhood of the Sun. Within this standard region parallaxes have now been determined for several thousand stars, and these represent the most reliable set of distance measurements to date.

5. Stellar Distances from "Mean Parallaxes"

The standard volume of space around the Sun can be extended about a thousandfold, and stellar distances measured out to at least 1,500 light years by the method of so-called mean parallaxes. In this case it is not the annual periodic motion of the observer round the Sun, but his continuous journey with the Sun through space which provides the basis for the measurement of parallactic shifts. It has been known for a long time that the whole solar system moves through space in the direction of the constellation Hercules and with a speed of about 12 miles per second relative to the stars. This means that in a year the Sun travels a distance about twice the diameter of the Earth's orbit, or that, if observations are extended over a period of several years, the stars are viewed from the ends of a much larger base-line than the diameter of the Earth's orbit. Their parallactic displacements on the celestal sphere are correspondingly larger than those produced by the orbital motion of the Earth, and are measurable to greater distances.

The continuous displacements of the stars due to the motion of the solar system can be easily distinguished from their periodic oscillations due to the Earth's revolution round the Sun. A difficulty arises, however, from the fact that like the Sun all stars move in space, and that therefore, when we observe changes in their positions on the sky, these will be due partly to their intrinsic movements and only partly to our own movement with the Sun. The first factor which is of no interest for the measurement of distance, is normally eliminated by determining not individual displacements, but average displacements of large numbers of stars, and by assuming that the stars move around at random so that their individual motions will cancel out when averages are formed.

In the method of mean parallaxes it is therefore not distances of single stars, but mean distances of groups of stars of the same type, say of stars with the same brightness and the same colour or type of spectrum or variability of light which are found from the observations. The method has been described here in so much detail because in spite of its imperfections it is of extreme importance since it allows us to study a volume of space appreciably larger than that which is accessible to us through measurements of ordinary annual parallaxes. It is only through a survey of that larger volume that the existence of stars of very high intrinsic luminosity has become known. Such stars are relatively thinly scattered through space, but being many thousand times more luminous than the Sun, they can be detected out to very considerable distances. Studies of the properties of these "supergiant" stars have revealed completely new ways of estimating stellar distances and have led to an increase in the range of measurable stellar distance from 1,500 to several million light years.

6. Distances from Stellar Luminosities

In early stellar astronomy it had been generally assumed that all stars have the same intrinsic luminosity and that the observed great differences in brightness are entirely due to differences in distance. When the first stellar distances were measured and the luminosities of the corresponding stars were actually determined—assuming the law that the brightness of a star diminishes with the inverse square of its distance—it was found that the assumption of equal luminosities had been very far from true. Though many stars within the standard volume of space near the Sun turned out to be more or less as luminous as the Sun, many more revealed rather smaller luminosities, some radiating only one hundredthousandth of the radiation of the Sun. At the same time there were also found a few stars which were a hundred times more luminous than the Sun.

The existence of still more luminous stars with candle powers up to 50,000 times that of the Sun became known only when the survey was extended to the larger volume of space in which mean parallaxes can be measured. Such stars are too rare to be found within the relatively small volume which can be explored by means of annual parallaxes.

Contrary to earlier assumptions the brightness of a star is therefore only a poor guide to its distance. The first magnitude star Rigel for instance is more than a hundred times more distant than some of the faintest stars which can only just be picked up with the naked eye.

Important for the problem of distance measurement is the fact that a careful study of the stars with known distances and luminosities has revealed close relationships between these luminosities and observable properties such as colours, types of spectrum or other characteristics. If these are determined, the luminosities can be found for the corresponding stars, and their distances can be derived from a comparison of those luminosities with the observed brightness of the stars. With the exception of the stars in the neighbourhood of the Sun all distances in the universe are actually measured in this way. It should not be forgotten, however, that the method could only be established following the determination of many stellar distances by annual and mean parallaxes.

7. Cepheid Variables as Indicators of Distance

Of particular importance among the stars of high luminosity which are used as " distance indicators " are the so-called Cepheid variables, stars whose brightness varies periodically. They are called after a bright prototype, a star in the constellation Cepheus, whose brightness varies within a period of somewhat over five days. At light maximum this star is between two and three times brighter than at light minimum. Like that of every other Cepheid its period of light variation has remained absolutely constant throughout the many thousands of cycles which have

been observed. From Cepheid to Cepheid, periods may vary between less than two hours and something like six weeks.

The luminosities of all Cepheids are much greater than that of the Sun so that they can be seen out to considerable distances. Their peculiar light variation is readily recognized, and their periods can easily be measured wherever they may be found.

A study of Cepheids whose distances had been measured through mean parallaxes has revealed their most important characteristic for the problem of distance measurement, that is the close connection which exists between the lengths of their periods and their luminosities. The famous " period-luminosity relation ", first suspected by the late Professor H. C. Plummer of Dunsink, and later on established by Professor H. Shapley and his collaborators at Harvard Observatory, has remained for thirty years the basis for all our probings into the distant regions of the universe. According to that relation the longer the period of light variation of a Cepheid, the greater is its luminosity. For instance whereas Cepheids with periods of 3 days are found to be 250 times more luminous than the Sun Cepheids, with periods of 10 days are more than a thousand times more luminous.

It may be mentioned here that certain very recent observations with the 200-inch telescope have shown the necessity for a revision of the period-luminosity relation in the form in which it was accepted for the past fifteen years. It has become apparent that there exist two distinctly different types of Cepheids in accordance with two types of " stellar populations " which we have come to recognize. Cepheids of the one type are four times more luminous than Cepheids with the same period of light variation of the other type. This discovery was first announced by Dr. Baade of the Mount Wilson and Palomar Observatories, California, at the recent Rome Meeting of the International Astronomical Union where it created something near a sensation. However, as it does not affect our ideas about the distribution of matter within our galaxy, we postpone its discussion until we reach the question of the distances of external galaxies for which Baade's discovery is of extreme importance.

8. Interstellar Absorption and Distance Measurement

The application of the criteria of luminosity which have been established by a survey of the neighbourhood of the Sun, and in particular the use of the period-luminosity relation in the case of Cepheids should make it possible in principle to map out space as far as Cepheids or other stars of known luminosity can be detected. A fundamental difficulty arises, however, from the fact that up till now it has been tacitly assumed —in accordance with the general belief of astronomers until twenty years ago—that the brightness of a star falls off with the inverse square of its distance or that its light suffers no absorption on its way to us through

space. This would be true only if, apart from stars, space were completely empty.

That such an assumption cannot be entirely true, is shown already by the existence of bright objects, known as galactic nebulae—a famous example is the nebula in the constellation Orion which is just visible to the naked eye—which are nothing but tenuous clouds of gas interspersed with smoke particles which are illuminated by star light. There are other " dark nebulae " such as the " coalsack " in the southern hemisphere which obscure most of the stars behind them. However, it was thought for a long time that the existence of interstellar matter was confined to those bright and dark galactic nebulae.

The discovery that also in regions free of any observable nebulosity distant stars are reddened similar to the Sun at sunset when it shines through a long path of air, and that other effects of an interstellar absorption of light can be detected in the spectra of remote stars, has made it clear that those bright and dark nebulae are just condensations within a sort of interstellar fog which pervades wide regions of space. It is only through many laborious observations which are far from complete, that we have got to know the " thickness " of this fog in different directions and that we can allow for its dimming effect on stellar brightness when we determine distances from luminosities.

9. The Structure of the Galaxy

When the distribution of matter in space is surveyed by the methods which we have discussed so far, it appears that all the stars and not only the few thousand stars which we can see with the naked eye, but also those hundreds of millions which become visible in great telescopes, form together a large flattened cluster, the galaxy, shaped somewhat like Herschel's millstone, but filling a much greater volume. The stars are strongly concentrated towards the central plane of the cluster, and it is near this plane that we find the Sun lying about halfway between the centre of the cluster and its edge. The central plane appears on the sky in the form of the phenomenon of the belt of the Milky Way. The brightest part of the Milky Way and the region where the density of stars is greatest which is in the constellation Sagittarius indicate the direction, as seen from the Sun, of the centre of the galaxy. This part of the Milky Way can be observed properly only from the southern hemisphere of the Earth. The new large Irish-American telescope which has been mounted at Blomfontein, South Africa, is stationed at a particularly favourable position for research on the distribution of the stars near the galactic centre. Its optics, based on the principle which was introduced into telescope-making by the late B. Schmidt of Hamburg, makes it an ideal instrument for the photography of extended star fields in the Milky Way.

The galaxy contains not only stars, but also considerable quantities of gas and dust which are even more strongly concentrated towards the central plane of the galaxy than the stars themselves. Within this plane therefore vision is very much restricted by the interstellar fog, and distant objects can be seen only if they lie well above or below that plane. It is there that one finds the so-called globular star clusters, objects which form a sort of envelope to the central galactic agglomeration of stars, and whose distances allow us to estimate the dimensions of the galaxy as a whole.

The distances of globular clusters can be determined with considerable accuracy from Cepheid variables which they contain in great quantities. It is thus found for instance from the periods of 170 Cepheids that the cluster Omega in the constellation Centaurus is at a distance of 20,000 light years. Far though it is, this is the nearest of all globular clusters. The diameter of the cloud of globular clusters and therefore also the diameter of the whole galaxy is found to be of the order of 100,000 light years. A distance of 30,000 light years separates us from the centre of the galaxy whose position, though interstellar fog prevents us from seeing it directly, is well determined as centre of the enveloping cloud of globular star clusters and also as the region round which the whole galaxy rotates.

The existence of such a rotation of the galaxy is clearly shown by any careful discussion of stellar movements. It is thus found that the Sun and stars in its neighbourhood, apart from flitting here and there at random, move all together as a swarm around the centre of the galaxy in such a way that they complete one full revolution in about 250 million years. Stars nearer the centre of the galaxy move faster, while those which are more distant, move more slowly, similar to the way in which the planets revolve around the Sun. As in the latter case, the movements of the stars around the galactic centre are dictated by the force of gravitation, and their investigation leads therefore to an estimate of the total amount of matter, responsible for that gravitation, within the galaxy. Present observations show this to be of the order of 200,000 million times the mass of the Sun, of which about half appears to be concentrated in the stars, the other half making up the diffuse interstellar matter. Since the mass of the Sun is equal to that of a typical star, the galaxy should contain about 100,000 million stars.

Though the general dimensions and the outward shape of the galaxy are well established now, its detailed structure particularly along its central plane is still very obscure on account of the presence of and our position within the interstellar fog. However, great progress has been made in the study of galactic structure in the course of the last year by an application of the methods of radio astronomy. Dutch radio astronomers with powerful radio telescopes and using aerials which had been tuned in to a wavelength of 21 cm, have investigated the radiation

which is emitted by the interstellar gas of hydrogen, the chief constituent of interstellar matter. Such radio radiation, which does not suffer as the light does from absorption by interstellar dust, reveals clearly in certain regions of the Milky Way the existence of two separate extended clouds of stars which can only be interpreted as two spiral arms, one behind the other, stretching from the central regions of the galaxy, out to its edge. Radio observations confirm therefore the idea which has often been advanced that our galaxy is constructed similarly to the Catherine wheels of the so-called spiral nebulae which we observe outside our galaxy and which we have to recognize as galaxies of their own. The discovery of the spiral structure of our galaxy through radio observations has recently been supplemented by investigations of the distribution in space of certain highly luminous stars such as we find in the case of other, external, galaxies only within their spiral arms. These observations are in excellent agreement with those of the radio astronomers, and the spiral structure of our galaxy cannot be doubted any longer. We find also that the spiral arms consist largely of diffuse interstellar matter and, embedded in it, supergiant stars.

10. The Exploration of Extragalactic Space: The Local Group of Nebulae

Our ability to estimate the distance of any object in which Cepheid variables can be identified, has led to the solution of the problem of the status of the bright nebulae. It has been mentioned earlier that many objects of this type such as the Orion nebula are nothing but agglomerations of interstellar gas and dust which are rendered luminous by florescence or scattering of starlight. All such nebulae lie well within the confines of our galaxy, and up to 30 years ago it was commonly believed that all nebulae without distinction are galactic. It was then thought that the whole universe, stars, star clusters, interstellar matter and any other objects were contained within the boundaries of the galaxy.

However, more than a hundred years ago it had been found already by Lord Rosse that some bright nebulae have a most peculiar shape. Observing with his famous six foot telescope at Birr, Rosse made one of the great discoveries of observational astronomy when in 1845 he traced the spiral structure of an object which has ever since been known as the "whirlpool nebula". Rosse discovered spiral structure in the case of about a dozen other nebulae.

However, to show up finer detail in objects such as these, photography is necessary and exposures of many hours duration are required. Early photographs by Roberts revealed spiral structure in the famous nebula in the constellation of Andromeda which is just faintly visible to the naked eye.

The study of the realm of nebulae came really into its own after the erection in 1918 of the 100-inch telescope at the Mount Wilson Observatory in California which up till now has provided practically all our observational knowledge about nebulae. It is only now being displaced from its unique position by the new 200-inch telescope on Palomar Mountain which, however, is being operated in conjunction with the older instrument.

It was in 1924 that Hubble with the 100-inch telescope was able to show that at least the outer parts of the Andromeda nebula consist of clouds of stars. A few years ago the rest of the nebula has been resolved in the same way by Dr. Baade. Among the stars which Hubble discovered in the nebula, was a large number of Cepheids whose periods of light variation and their corresponding luminosities seemed to point to a distance of the nebula of 750,000 light years. This figure in which the effect of interstellar absorption has been taken into account, has been accepted as accurate for the last fifteen years or more.

However, it has now had to be changed radically and with it the distances of all external galaxies and the scale of the whole observable region of the universe. It has become clear through Dr. Baade's work with the 200-inch telescope that the Cepheids which had been used as distance indicators by Hubble, are four times more luminous than had been assumed all along, and that therefore the real distance of the nebula must be twice what it was supposed to be, or equal to 1.5 million light years.

The Andromeda nebula therefore lies far outside the confines of our galaxy. Examining it more closely, we find it to be a galaxy of its own, very similar in structure and composition to the one in which we live. It consists of a large disc-shaped agglomeration of stars, surrounded by globular clusters, and containing considerable quantities of bright and dark interstellar matter. As in the case of our own galaxy, this matter is concentrated in the very clearly pronounced spiral arms which protrude from the central core of the nebula. When its distance was first measured, the Andromeda nebula was considered to be somewhat smaller than our galaxy, though large in comparison with others. With the recent reassessment of nebular distances the Andromeda nebula now turns out to be about one and a half times the size of our own galaxy.

From spectroscopic observations of movements in the line of sight in various regions of the nebula it has been found that it rotates in a manner similar to the rotation of our galaxy. The investigation of the nebular rotation makes it possible to derive the total amount of matter contained within the nebula. This is found to be of the same order as the total mass of our own galaxy, which means that the Andromeda nebula contains between 100 and 200 thousand millions stars.

This nebula is the nearest of a group of nearly twenty galaxies which all lie relatively close to us within a volume of about two or three million light years radius. All these nebulae form together with our own galaxy what is known as the local group of galaxies. In the case of all of them sufficient Cepheid variables have been found to allow their distances to be determined accurately. Large numbers of other nebulae are known, but in no case outside the local group have Cepheid variables been found on plates taken with the 100-inch telescope. Though this position will change when sufficient observational material has been collected with the 200-inch telescope, for the present the local group of nebulae represents the best determined set of extragalactic distances.

11. Nebular Distances Out to the Present Limit of Vision

In about 200 spiral nebulae apart from the local group supergiant stars of extreme luminosity can still be picked up individually, though Cepheids are too faint to be visible. The distances of these nebulae can be determined from those supergiant stars if one assumes that their luminosities are the same in all galaxies and as we find them in the local group. These luminosities which in extreme cases reach a value 50,000 times that of the luminosity of the Sun, extend our measurement of nebulae out to distances of 20 million light years.

Outside this range no individual stars can be found in any extragalactic nebulae with the 100-inch telescope. Their distances can be estimated, however, by comparing their total luminosities with the total luminosities of the nebulae whose distances are known by the individual star method. This is not unreasonable because the study of the " near " nebulae shows us that the range in total luminosities is comparatively small. Whereas the luminosities of individual stars may differ easily by a factor of several million, the brightest, largest and most massive nebulae are not much more than a hundred times more luminous than the faintest ones which are also the smallest and least massive.

If we assume with Hubble who studied the individual luminosities of the near nebulae, that an average nebula has a luminosity of about a hundred million times the luminosity of the Sun, we have a straightforward means of estimating the distances of nebulae which can no longer be resolved into individual stars, and, in theory at least, we can apply this method right out to the limit of vision of our telescopes. A limit is imposed, however, on the accuracy of the distances which can thus be reached, by the technical difficulties which affect the measurement of the brightness of a nebula and particularly of a faint one. All such distance measurements are furthermore exposed to systematic errors arising from the use of a possibly inaccurate value for the average total luminosity of a nebula. These errors should be considerably reduced when sufficient observations with the 200-inch telescope will have been carried out.

Though for individual faint nebulae distance measurements by this method may be in error by as much as 50 per cent, a fair degree of accuracy is obtained when the method is applied to finding the mean distance of a cluster of nebulae. Large numbers of such clusters are known, containing anything up to a thousand individual nebulae all of which lie at approximately the same distance from us as the centre of the cluster. Distances of clusters of nebulae have been determined out to about 500 million light years ; the faintest individual nebulae, visible on plates taken with the 100-inch telescope, are estimated to be 1,000 million light years away from us. With the 200-inch telescope this limit of vision is extended to a distance of 2,000 million light years.

The very faintest nebulae appear on photographs as no more than elongated specks, and it requires an expert to distinguish them from stars. On plates taken with the 200-inch these nebulae become so numerous that they outnumber ordinary stars.

Rather more than half of all nebulae show spiral structure of some kind. The rest are ellipsoidal or globular in shape, and there are some such as the so-called Magellanic clouds, visible from the southern hemisphere, which are completely irregular in shape. It is likely that such differences in appearance represent different stages in the evolution of the nebulae. Recent work seems to indicate that elliptic nebulae were once endowed with spiral arms which they lost in the course of collisions with other galaxies.

12. The Space Distribution of the Nebulae. The Mean Density of Matter in Space

Sample counts of nebulae in a large number of representative areas of the sky show that with the 100-inch the total number of nebulae which can be photographed, reaches the 100 million mark. The numbers of nebulae increase rapidly with decreasing brightness. These observations are well established for all but the very faint nebulae, in the case of which considerable accidental and possible systematic errors of observation make a decision difficult. They lead to the result which is of the greatest importance for cosmological theories, that the number of nebulae increases with increasing distance in exactly the way one would expect if space were uniformly filled with nebulae. If correct to further distances this rule would predict an eightfold increase in the number of observable nebulae when the 200-inch telescope is substituted for the 100-inch. The question of the uniformity in the distribution of the nebulae in space is one of the chief problems which are being tested at present on Palomar Mountain.

Apart from being uniform with distance, the distribution of nebulae appears to be remarkably uniform also with direction, that means, when allowance is made for local irregularities such as clusters, one finds more

or less the same number of nebulae per square degree in every direction of the sky with the exception of one region, the Milky Way and its neighbourhood. Practically no nebulae at all are observed within the Milky Way and very few in its immediate vicinity. However, the existence of this "zone of avoidance" can easily be explained. It is the result of the fact that in and around the plane of the Milky Way we have to observe through an appreciable amount of interstellar fog which makes it next to impossible to observe such distant objects as the nebulae. The absence of nebulae in this zone therefore is apparent only, and when allowance is made for the "thickness" of the interstellar fog as indicated by our studies of galactic structure, we find that the distribution of the nebulae is the same in this region as everywhere else in the sky.

With the nebulae then we have arrived at a stratum of matter which, when sufficiently large volumes of space are viewed, can be considered to be spread uniformly throughout the universe. The existence of such a homogeneous stratum is at the basis of most present cosmological theories. More specifically important for theory is the density of matter throughout the universe which involves the knowledge not only of the number of nebulae per unit volume, but also of the average masses of the nebulae. The former we know with reasonable accuracy, at least out to a distance of about 500 million light years, but so far nebular masses are far less well determined.

It has been mentioned earlier how in the case of our own galaxy and in that of the Andromeda nebula the masses of galaxies have been estimated from their observed rotations. However, the spectroscopic observations, necessary for the measurement of rotation, can be applied only to a few bright nebulae. Attempts have been made to derive nebular masses from observations of their motions when found in pairs or clusters, but on account of the minuteness of the observed effects, the results are very unreliable.

Apart from the case of our own galaxy and the Andromeda nebula our knowledge of nebular masses depends at present entirely on the assumption that the masses are more or less proportional to the luminosities. In other words it is supposed that a nebula with a luminosity of about one hundredth of that in Andromeda—which, as has been pointed out before, is a giant galaxy—contains only one hundredth the number of stars and is consequently only one hundredth as massive. On this basis the average mass of a galaxy is taken to be about 1,000 million times the mass of the Sun. This figure coupled with the observed distribution of nebulae in space leads to a density of matter within the observable region of the universe of the order of one atom per 10,000 litres. If all the matter which makes up the galaxies were spread out completely uniformly through space, the density everywhere would be equal to this figure.

In deriving this fundamental constant, it has been assumed that all matter in the universe is concentrated in the galaxies. Some recent work of Zwicky at Mount Wilson appears to point to the existence of "bridges" between galaxies and to the possible presence of diffuse matter in intergalactic space. Should these observations be confirmed, our figure for the average density of matter in the universe might have to be increased substantially.

The possibility of the existence of intergalactic fog would affect also our present distance scale, which as has been emphasized, is based on the assumption that light from the nebulae has suffered no dimming on its way to us.

Another possible source of systematic error in our distance measurements is due to the fact that, when we look out into space, we look also back in time, into the distant past of many hundred million years. When we propose that all nebulae, near and far, have the same average luminosity, we assume that the luminosity of a nebula does not change in the course of a hundred or even a thousand million years. From studies of the constitution of the stars we know that the luminosity of an ordinary star such as the Sun alters very little, if at all, within such an interval of time, but there are certain other types of stars which may shine altogether for only a few million years. A galaxy, containing a number of such short-lived stars at the beginning of its formation, would deteriorate fairly rapidly in brightness in the course of time. It is possible that certain observations on elliptic nebulae must be explained in this way. Accurate measurements of the colours of these nebulae have shown that the more distant nebulae are redder than the near ones which may result from the fact that in the remote nebulae we still observe the luminous red giant stars which on account of their short life-time have become extinct in the older nearby nebulae.

The third and for the faint nebulae probably the greatest source of error in the measurement of distance is connected with the phenomenon of their recession whose cosmological significance will be discussed below. Such a recession has the effect of reddening the light of distant nebulae and consequently of influencing the observation of their brightness. This can be understood if one remembers that in measuring the brightness of nebulae or of any luminous object photographically, photoelectrically or by any other method, one accounts only for that range of radiation (colour) to which the receiving instrument is sensitive. In photography for instance it is primarily the blue region of the spectrum which is recorded by the plate.

In theory corrections can be applied for the effect of reddening, and the brightness of a receding nebula can be reduced to what it would be if the nebula were stationary with respect to us. The necessary corrections imply, however, knowledge of the distribution of intensity

throughout the spectrum of a nebula down to the far ultraviolet which as a result of the reddening appears in the form of visible radiation. Since the ultraviolet part of nebular spectra is at the present not sufficiently well known, distances of very remote nebulae may be considerably in error as the result of nebular recession.

13. The Recession of the Nebulae

The discovery of the recession of the nebulae and of what is generally called the expansion of the universe, is based on measuring the magnitudes of the red-shifts which have just been mentioned. Red-shifts are interpreted in terms of the so-called Doppler effect according to which wave lengths in the spectrum of any luminous body are shifted towards the red or violet if the body recedes from us or approaches us. The shift will be the greater the greater the speed of recession or approach, which can be readily measured therefore whenever we can compare the spectrum of the moving luminous body with that of a luminous body at rest. The Doppler effect has been applied to measuring the velocities in the line of sight of a great number of stars in our galaxy. Such velocities are found to be of the order of 10 miles per second.

Since the nebulae are agglomerations of stars, their spectra should be similar to those of stars, and in fact they are found to be very much like that of the Sun. This only confirms what we know already, namely that the Sun is a common type of star such as make up the bulk of our own and other galaxies. When the spectra of about forty nebulae were first examined by Slipher at the Lowell Observatory, Arizona, it was found that with the exception of the very brightest and therefore of the very nearest nebulae all spectra showed red-shifts indicating that the corresponding nebulae move away from us with speeds which in the greatest case amounted to 1,000 miles per second. Observations on nebular spectra have been extended by Humason at Mount Wilson Observatory who during the last twenty years measured no fewer than 750 nebular velocities, mostly with the 100-inch and recently with the 200-inch telescopes. To give some idea of the difficulties involved, it might be mentioned that in order to obtain spectra of the faintest nebulae, exposure times of up to 100 hours, that is of many nights, were necessary during the whole of which time the telescope had to be guided by means of stars in the neighbourhood of the nebulae which themselves were too faint to be visible.

In all cases the speeds of recession were found to be considerable as compared, say, with the velocities of stars. The speeds of the nebulae were furthermore shown to increase with increasing distance, so much so that nebulae at distances of 250 million light years recede with a speed of about 12,000 miles per second. Humason's most recent observations

refer to nebulae which are 800 million light years away from us, and whose speeds of recession amount to one fifth of the velocity of light.

If one examines the spectral shifts or the corresponding velocities of recession of all nebulae whose distances are known, a simple relation is found to connect velocity with distance : the velocities are simply proportional to the distances, or in other words, the realm of nebulae is found to open out. For each million light years added to the distance, the velocity increases by 50 miles per second. This represents the fundamental constant of nebular recession, one of the two most important observational data on which cosmological theories are built.

Two apparent exceptions to the general rule of linear expansion are easily accounted for. The first refers to the velocities of individual members of clusters of nebulae which may differ from each other by several hundred miles per second on account of movements of these nebulae inside the clusters and around the common centres of gravity. Each cluster hangs together as a whole and its overall velocity follows the linear law of expansion.

The second apparent exception is provided by a few bright and therefore near nebulae which exhibit violet-shifts pointing not to a recession, but to an approach. These nebulae are situated in the region of the constellation Cepheus, that means in the direction towards which the Sun moves in its rotation around the galactic centre. The Sun's speed in this direction is 170 miles per second, and is a velocity of revolution, not to be confused with the Sun's random motion as a star in the direction of the constellation Hercules and with a speed of only 12 miles per second. When the Sun's velocity of revolution is subtracted from the apparent speeds of approach of the nebulae under discussion, they are found to fall in with the general nebular recession.

If we extrapolate the observed increase of recession with distance outwards, we find that nebulae at distances of about 4,000 million light years should recede from us with velocities equal to the speed of light and thus become invisible. Such a distance would appear to represent therefore a sort of natural observational horizon beyond which nothing can be seen. Our present limit of vision with the 200-inch telescope is just about half this distance, which means that in theory a telescope of twice this size should reach the ends of the visible universe !

It may be argued that what has been said about the expansion of the realm of nebulae, depends entirely on a particular interpretation of the nebular spectra, namely on the assumption that the observed red-shifts in these spectra are Doppler shifts, produced by motions in the line of sight. The observational evidence involves in practice a comparison of the spectrum of a light source, produced here and now in the laboratory, with the spectrum of light which has been emitted millions of years ago and which has travelled very considerable distances before reaching us.

Some scientists have suggested that on its long journey the light coming from remote nebulae may have suffered some sort of a change, involving loss of energy, and that we may mistake this for Doppler effect. However, at the present time there is no other evidence for the existence of any such spurious Doppler effect either in the field of astronomy or in that of physics, and it would appear to be only reasonable to assume, as most astronomers do, that the observed red-shifts in nebular spectra point to real recessions of the nebulae, and that the whole physical world is indeed opening out.

If this is true, a problem of a different kind presents itself immediately. If all nebulae really recede from us, it looks at first sight as if we, or rather our galaxy, were located in the very centre of the universe. The history of astronomy has taught us, however, that any such anthropocentric assumption is very misplaced on the material plane. We have gradually learnt that our abode is on rather a small planet which revolves around a very common type of star, which itself lies in a corner of one of innumerable galaxies. The assumption of our galaxy being in the centre of the world would be rather suspect therefore right from the beginning, even if a little reflection would not show that the observed expansion of the realm of nebulae by no means leads to that conclusion. If the universe is opening out in the way described, observers situated anywhere in any other galaxy must get exactly the same impression of radial recession of galaxies as we do, and might feel to be just as much in the " centre " as we are.

14. The Age of the Universe

It is possible to obtain from the constant of nebular recession a rough estimate for the time which must have elapsed since the expansion started. This assumes that the velocities of recession have remained the same as they were at the beginning. In this case the expansion must have started about 4,000 million years ago. It is of interest to compare with this time which is often referred to as the " age of the universe ", figures which can be obtained by different methods for the ages of various members of that universe. We know particularly well the age of our Earth, or rather the age of its solid crust which can be determined from measurement of the relative abundances of radioactive materials and the products of their disintegration. If one finds for instance in a piece of rock a certain amount of uranium together with its radioactive decay products, namely isotopes of lead, one can estimate from the ratio of their masses the time interval since that uranium was locked into the rock. Careful measurements of this sort have lead to figures for the age of the Earth which lie between 2,000 and 4,000 million years, figures which are of exactly the same order as the age of the universe as a whole.

Somewhat higher age values follow for meteorites from similar investigations involving comparisons of their helium content with their uranium and thorium contents. The ages of 5,000 or even 6,000 million years which have been derived, represent undoubtedly upper limits to the ages of meteorites, since part of the measured helium contents may have easily been produced not by radioactive disintegration, but by the influence of cosmic rays.

The very existence of certain radioactive materials at the present moment, irrespective of where they are found, defines an upper limit to the time at which the present distribution of chemical elements came into existence. We believe that under present conditions heavy elements such as the radioactive elements cannot be formed anywhere in the universe. Since they decay at known rates, their present abundance leads us to another value for the " age of the universe ", which again turns out to be about 5,000 million years.

We have learnt a great deal also about the probable ages of the stars. It has been mentioned in an earlier article in this journal on the Sun, that the chief source of energy which keeps ordinary stars shining and which has kept the Sun shining for at least 2,000 million years, is the thermonuclear conversion of hydrogen into helium which takes place within the hot deep interiors of the stars. It is possible to estimate the relative amounts of hydrogen and helium within a normal star, and if one can assume that most of the helium present represents the " ashes " of an atomic fire in which the hydrogen has been consumed, one can find upper limits for the ages of the stars. According to these and other considerations the oldest stars in our present universe should have been born about 5,000 million years ago.

Data of a rather different kind, though not very accurate, point to the same type of time scale for the ages of the galaxies. It has been mentioned before that many and probably all galaxies rotate around their centres. Eddington saw long ago that the structure of any galaxy and in particular the star clouds in its spiral arms cannot resist for long the shearing effects of such galactic rotations which are generally faster in the inner than in the outer portions of a galaxy. From the continued evidence of definite structure within our galaxy Eddington derived an upper limit to its age, setting it at about 1,000 million years. Similar, but less reliable figures have been proposed for the ages of star clusters which after a certain time would be expected to disintegrate on account of random movements of their members, similar to the diffusion of a cloud of gas.

It appears then that the ages of the oldest stars, of star clusters and of galaxies are all of the same order, and that they are also in remarkable agreement with the time interval which according to nebular observations has elapsed since the expansion of the universe began.

It is an important fact that every improvement in observational technique and the gradual accumulation of data in the course of the last twenty years have tended all along to improve that agreement and to make the various independent estimates for the age of the universe converge to a fairly definite figure of the order of 4,000 or perhaps 5,000 million years. The most spectacular instance of that tendency has been the evaluation of the new value for the age of the universe from nebular recession, namely 4,000 million years, twice what it was supposed to be before the recent reassessment of nebular distances. Though, obviously, a great deal remains to be done before we can be really satisfied with the accuracy of the observations, there can be little doubt that all present observational evidence points to the existence of a power which brought the universe as we know it into being at a time, about 4,000 million years ago. With our present telescopes we reach parts of this universe which lie about halfway between us and our natural horizon, and in studying nebulae out to distances of 1,000 and possibly even 2,000 million light years, we can investigate at least a quarter or possibly even half of its past history since the expansion started.

The fact that we seem to have reached rather a fundamental stage in our probings into the structure and history of the universe, has been emphasized by the Holy Father in two recent addresses before the members of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences in 1951 and before the Congress of the International Astronomical Union in 1952.

Though by no means as complete as one would wish, the present observational evidence appears to be indeed sufficiently substantial to warrant the type of theoretical cosmological discussion which we shall deal with in the following article. Theoretical " model universes " are readily built and the discussion of their properties may be rather fascinating, but they become really interesting when they can be compared, as seems now possible, with a picture of a significant part of the real universe as derived from observation. It will be found that among the various theories which have been proposed in recent years, there is at least one whose conclusions are in good agreement with our observational findings, and whose premises may give us therefore some insight into the structure of the world at large and into its origin and evolution.

H. A. Brück

Reflections on the 'Liberators' of Spanish America

by JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

1. A Spanish Interpretation

THERE are rhythms in human history which it is always of interest and value for the student to discover : currents of thinking which have emerged and developed till they have laid hold of and dominated the mind of some generation ; manners and methods of administration that have been widespread, policies that are increasingly diffused ; movements in the direction of a more liberal or, correspondingly, a more restrictive system of national economy ; tendencies to political separatism or towards closer concentration. It is tempting, no doubt, though as an interpretation it is all too simple, to imagine that such rhythms have been inevitable or even pre-determined, following some iron law of human progress or decline : or, less rigidly, that events would have occurred very much as they did occur, though a variety of conditions and circumstances would certainly have varied their direction, their tempo and their intensity. For the historical determinist the answer is relatively simple. He can glance across the centuries and detect the inexorable working out of the historic law. Others, however, for whom the mind and freedom of the individual man are every bit as significant as the processes of collective men, do not find it an easy matter to assess to what extent some particular rhythm may have been due to or been affected by a great man or group of men and to what degree characters, prominent in history, have been the reflection of the spirit of their time and of some particular historical rhythm. Are men, in other words, greater and more significant than movements ? Or are movements of higher significance than individual men ? Can an age be interpreted, in the main, as the creation of the men immediately before and of it ? Or are men, by and large, the products of the age ?

These reflections are prompted by an important book, which was published towards the close of 1952 and about which I have been hoping for some considerable time to comment.[1] The subject of the book is the Life and Times of Simón Bolívar, the most prominent figure in the secession of the Spanish American colonies or 'kingdoms', to give them their proper title, from Spain and the Spanish Crown.

There can be little need to introduce its author, for Señor de Madariaga is a well-known as he is an eminent Spanish scholar. Now resident

[1] *Bolivar.* By Salvador de Madariaga. London : Hollis and Carter. Pp. xix, 711. 1952 : 45s.

for many years in England, he has held the chair of Spanish Literature in the university of Oxford. He has had too a very distinguished career in diplomacy, having represented Spain as Ambassador both in Washington and Paris. Prior to 1939 he had also close connections with the Secretariate of the League of Nations at Geneva. In more recent years his mind has turned increasingly to South American questions, with particular reference to the relations existing during three centuries between Spain, the mother land, and her Spanish daughter kingdoms of the New World. His books on the Rise and Fall of the Spanish American Empire will become classics ; they are wholly balanced and admirable. The present volume is the third and longest of a trilogy of biographies—not exactly of Spanish Americans but of the three men who discovered, shaped and eventually refashioned that sub-continent. The two earlier volumes were studies of Christopher Columbus, who first sailed to that continent, and of Hernán Cortés, grandest of the *Conquistadores,* who imprinted upon its land and peoples the mark of the ancient faith and culture of Spain. Simón Bolívar, last of this trinity of significant figures, was the most prominent of the *Libertadores,* those ' liberators ' who wrenched these kingdoms from their ancient allegiance, though not from their Spanish culture and their Catholic faith.

Running throughout Señor de Madariaga's books on Spanish America there is a definite and emphatic theme, of which you never lose sight for long (the author sees to this) and upon which the various books might be considered as ' variants '. The theme is that the Spanish American Empire was, on the whole, a very fine thing for the peoples subject to its authority and a very splendid achievement in the cultural record of man. He would insist that the Spaniards took to the New World a high level of civilization and culture ; that they established schools and institutions which greatly bettered manners and standards of life ; that they converted the newly-discovered peoples to the Catholic faith. He would be the last to deny the cruelties and injustices practised, the rough and ready habits of fighting men, the disobedience and insubordination to central authority. He would not deny that the development of these provinces was frequently hindered, when not entirely frustrated, by slow and supine administration in Seville and Madrid or that Spanish ideals, lofty and noble in conception, had at times to limp and hobble in actual practice ; that the men on the spot might nullify through violence and selfishness the well-intentioned and wisely-laid plans of Crown and government. But, taking the three centuries as a whole, he would argue that the peoples of Spanish America benefitted immensely from Spanish rule, Indians and blacks as well as whites, and again on the whole, that they remained contented and happy under it.

I am not suggesting that Señor de Madariaga believes that the emancipation of Spanish America should never have taken place or that

it might not have occurred, had it not been for certain special circumstances. I imagine that he believes, with the majority of us, that subject countries do in the end break away and that colonial territories, once they have reached a pitch of maturity, are inclined to secede or to revolt. That is what England's North American colonies did in the eighteenth century and what the remaining European colonies in the Far East are now doing. It is one of the recognizable rhythms of modern history.

What, however, he does resent is the assumption that revolutions are necessarily a good thing, that it is always, regardless of circumstance, preferable to be independent than to own political allegiance, and that the state of Spanish America was essentially better after the Liberation than before. He argues, not in so many words, for facts are an eloquent advocate, that the condition of things after emancipation was worse, not better, and that the majority of the inhabitants of Spanish America were not in favour of secession, the Indians in particular remaining on the whole loyal to the Crown. For the Crown had been their protector against local overlords and masters. With the Church, the Crown had maintained the rights of Indians and promoted Indian welfare.

He rejects the interpretation which considers the wars of independence a spontaneous uprising of oppressed against oppressors. Indeed, what oppression there was in Spanish America came from precisely that class which made the revolution, the well-placed and well-to-do American Spanish and Creoles.[1] The wars of liberation, in the author's judgment, were wars, not of justice but for power. They were typical civil wars of Spanish experience, in which there was sounded a note of fierce embitterment. Señor de Madariaga deplores the centrifugal tendency that broke up the unity and framework of the old Empire and left in its place a number of republics, isolated and unsure of themselves, to remain subject for long to the same disruptive force, with its series of further revolutions and *pronunciamientos*. Bolívar became himself increasingly aware of this danger, and in the later years of his life was planning in effect to restore the Spanish Empire without the Spanish Crown. It was due to his perseverance that the three regions of Venezuela, New Granada and Quito were formed into the larger State of Colombia. But the centrifugal tendencies were in the end to defeat the grandiose projects of the Liberator. And his death was overshadowed in 1830 by the break away from the larger Colombia of Venezuela as well as by his own enforced absence and exile in Cartagena and Soledad because of the authorities of Bogotá.

[1] This word, *Creole* or *Criollo* in Spanish, is normally used to denote someone born of Spanish parents in the Americas. This usually meant the child of a Spanish father and an Indian mother : hence the Creole was of mixed stock. The leaders of society in Venezuela and the Argentine (to give them their modern names)—the two initial centres of revolt against Spain—were in the main Creoles.

2. The Legend of Napoleon

If Señor de Madariaga were asked to sum up the movement of South American 'liberation' in one single word and name, he would readily do so. The name is Napoleon. There is a significant paragraph in his introduction :

> One final word. The upshot of this life and that of San Martín[1] turns out to be a paradox : the greatest single influence in the emancipation of Spanish America was Napoleon : for it was his example that put the steel of ambition into Bolívar and San Martín ; and it was his attack on Spain that, by destroying the Spanish Crown, broke the legal and traditional links between the kingdoms overseas and the European Kingdoms ; and by invading Spain prevented her from strengthening with her arms the majority which till 1819 was still in favour of the Hispanic Union. This paradox, however, resolves itself into a lesson : The emancipation of Spanish America was one of the most significant achievements of Napoleon ; perhaps the most significant. But it never entered into his plans.[2]

Napoleon enters upon the South American world, in the first place, through his precursors, the 'philosophers' and Deists who paved the way for the French Revolution. French influence had reached and affected the leisured classes of South America, and Bolívar among others had come under the impact of this pre-revolutionary French thought. Of his three tutors, the one who made the most lasting impression was Simón Carreño Rodríguez, a disciple of Rousseau. In 1803 and 1804, when they were together in Paris, Rodríguez introduced his young pupil to the writings of Hobbes, Helvetius, Hume and Spinoza as well as to the works of Rousseau and Voltaire. How far Bolívar's high intelligence was affected, and for how long, by these authors, it is not easy to guess. Despite a keen mind, he remained always the man of action ; and, as a 'cape and sword man'—an expression which Señor de Madariaga uses not quite happily for the military leaders of the revolution—he was resolutely opposed to the 'gown men', the lawyers and civilians who were more republican in their outlook and more deeply impressed by the French writers.

But republican influence there certainly was, much of it associated with Freemasonry. Señor de Madariaga admits that Bolívar was probably

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[1] General José de San Martín, the outstanding personality in the liberation movement in the Rio de la Plata. Born of a Spanish father and Creole mother in Misiones, now Northern Argentina, he served for twenty years as an officer in the Spanish army in Europe. Returning to Buenos Aires in 1812, he organized an army at Mendoza in the province of Cuyo, crossed the Andes and eventually defeated the Spanish forces both in Chile and Peru. San Martín's soldiers met the Colombian troops of Bolívar in Peru and the two "Liberators" themselves met at Quayaquil. In the Argentine San Martín, though he lived many years in Europe and died in France, is now honoured as national patron and *Libertador*.

[2] p. xviii.

a Freemason. Indeed, it is said that he was a 'Philadelphian'. This was originally a secret society organized within the French army against Napoleon. It had taken the place of an earlier group, the 'Olympians', the purpose of which had been to bring about Napoleon's death. This was symbolized in the seal of the society, which showed an arm brandishing a dagger and emerging from the clouds, while underneath a bust of Caesar was observed tumbling to the ground. The Olympians merged themselves into the Philadelphians for fear of Fouché, the head of the police, who had gleaned information about the plot. This may explain the coldness shown by Napoleon and Fouché to Miranda, the Venezuelan 'precursor' of the Liberator, who spent several years in Europe, trying to enlist first English and later French sympathies for the revolt against Spain. According to O'Higgins,[1] it was Miranda who founded the *Lautaro Lodge*, which, under its other titles of *Caballeros Racionales* or *Gran Reunión Americana*, helped to co-ordinate the movement for independence. The activities of Freemasons were mostly of French and English inspiration. Miranda's chief correspondent in Buenos Aires, Saturnino Rodríguez Peña, was a member of the *Southern Star Lodge*, which had been set up by the English during their brief occupation of that city. The centre of English Masonic influence, thinks Señor de Madariaga, is to be discovered in Cádiz, where were the headquarters of English trade with Spanish America, both licit and illicit. After Miranda had returned to Caracas in 1806, he founded a revolutionary Jacobin group, the *Sociedad Patriótica*, which became a powerful nucleus of anti-Spanish propaganda and conspiracy.

Señor de Madariaga is more outspoken about Masonry and its influence, when he treats of San Martín. San Martín, he declares, was a Freemason and worked all the time under strong Masonic pressure. Indeed, he would seem to have scant sympathy with the *Libertador* of Argentina, either as a person or even as a military chief. He refers to his Fabian tactics and his almost uncanny passivity and he minimizes his build up of an army with the most slender resources and his crossing of the Andes. In his eyes, San Martín suffers by comparison with the resilience and quicksilver brilliance of the Venezuelan hero. He judges San Martín as "one of the underground leaders of the revolution who, from the dark recesses of the lodges, controlled public events".[2] Which judgment, of course, will not render his work officially popular in Argentina. But it is true that Mitre, biographer of San Martín and himself a prominent figure in nineteenth century Argentine history, believed that the liberation in both Argentina and Chile was greatly facilitated through Masonic centres.

[1] Bernard O'Higgins, of Irish descent and son of a former Viceroy of Peru. He played a large part in the emancipation of Chile from Spanish authority and is known as the *Libertador* of that country.

[2] p. 323.

Napoleon, however, exercised a far more direct and immediate influence on young men like Bolívar. Bolívar was in Paris in 1804 at the first crowning of Napoleon and the scene made a profound impression ; this was further deepened when he attended in the next year at Milan a similar ceremony at which the iron crown of Lombardy was granted to the French conqueror. Bolívar records his fascination at the scene with its élan and splendour ; but what caught his imagination was the simplicity of the Emperor himself amid this magnificence. " All the men of his suite were covered with gold and rich embroideries, and he wore only his epaulettes, a hat without braid and a tunic without a single ornament ". And in these reminiscences, which naturally were penned long afterwards, he added a significant reference to himself. " I should have adopted such a fashion in our countries, had I not feared that people might have said I did it to imitate Napoleon ".[1]

Much later, in a confidence given to a French friend, Peru de Lacroix (May 26th, 1828) he explained the frequent criticism which he had levelled in public against Napoleon. He had called him a tyrant and despot ; and in a communication to his Irish associate and biographer, O'Leary, he stated that " his very glory seemed to be a glow from Hell ". To Lacroix Bolívar admitted that this had all been done to avert any suspicion that he was himself thinking of Latin America in Napoleonic terms and planning to make himself the Bonaparte of the New World.

> Do not doubt, he added, but that all this would have occurred had I shown myself, as I am, a keen admirer of the French hero ; had I been heard praising his policy, speaking enthusiastically of his victories, commending him as the first captain of the world, as a statesman, as a philosopher and as a man of science. These are my opinions on Napoleon, but I have taken the utmost care to hide them. The St. Helena Diary, the campaigns of Napoleon and everything connected with him are for me the most agreeable reading and the most profitable ; there it is that the arts of war, of politics and of government should be studied.[2]

A confidence of the kind reveals a dissembling character. Indeed it is not altogether easy to focus clearly the picture which Señor de Madariaga draws of Bolívar. He considers him incomparably the greatest man associated with the liberation of Spanish America, and in his eyes he was great in many ways : great because of the intensity of his passion and his purpose ; great in physical enterprise and endurance ; great, also, in his grasp of the political issues and in the width of his vision of what might have been and should have been the future pattern of Spanish America. He could outline plans and projects with remarkable lucidity, could argue a case with great persuasiveness and play a game of patient diplomacy as cunningly as an experienced politician from Europe. Yet

[1] p. 67.
[2] p. 65.

his very greatness proved in the end a serious handicap. The small men around him—the lawyers of Caracas and Bogotá, the *caudillos* and *guerrilleros* of the type of Páez and Mariño—could not share his width of outlook nor could they understand the all importance of subordinating local and personal views to these larger issues. His very subtlety proved his undoing. The years of fluctuating war had shown him that no republican form of government could work effectively in Spanish America. It is evident that he saw the only real solution in some form of monarchy or *monocracy*, meaning in fact that he should be ruler of the Spanish American kingdoms, at least of the Greater Colombia, perhaps also with Peru, and that ultimately he would be succeeded by a member of some European reigning house. But he blew hot and cold ; hinted at and yet veiled his readiness to collaborate ; encouraged others to act for him and yet, without hesitation, repudiated them, when it suited his purpose. He was far too subtle for the men among whom he worked, despite his very great and deserved prestige.

His was a pattern of genius, which lacked consistency and integration. He had the clear mind of a first-rate administrator but not the least patience to administer. This was one of the reasons why the earliest separatist governments in Spanish America were so spasmodic and awkward. He was really a *Caudillo* of genius, a Generalissimo who would have been perfectly happy to go on waging campaigns but who all the time would have rendered existence quite impossible for any civilian government. Though in his earlier years, he was considerably influenced by the liberal writings of the 'philosophers' of the French Revolution, he was definitely in the military as distinct from the civilian camp even if he had become a soldier, as did Julius Caesar, on the field rather than in the military academy.

Readers may perhaps wonder or even smile at the comparison between a man of the military stamp of Napoleon and what might seem a local insurgent chieftain in far distant South America. Yet, if the numbers engaged in these liberation wars were small by comparison with the Continental armies of the French and their opponents, the hardships endured, the cost demanded and the sacrifices made were indeed formidable. Señor de Madariaga, on this point, has two splendid paragraphs, referring to Bolívar's crossing of the Andes, which I will quote, for the picture they give of these volunteers and of Bolívar's personality :

> We have to imagine this powerful spirit, in his small, lithe body, standing at the foot of the most forbidding obstacle on earth after the Himalaya, leaving behind (under the threat of a relatively strong Spanish army) a number of rival chieftains of doubtful loyalty, and a weak and not very capable government ; a leader who but a few days earlier had had to quell rebellion and treachery in the ranks of his own companions,

some of whom had conspired to depose him and raise Páez in his stead ; a man of thirty-five who, then in perfect health, was capable of an untiring physical and moral activity ; who never complained ; for whom no hardship was unbearable, no march too long, no task too menial ; who could cheerfully load mules and canoes, or swim his horse back and forth to help across the rivers weak soldiers or women. Fully conscious of the gigantic risks he was running, this man was endeavouring to conquer Nature at her most powerful only to meet an army better equipped, more numerous and of course fresher than his own ; staking his all with the scantiest means, no guns, no machinery, no organization, no commissariat, hardly any clothes, just the skin and the bones, the muscles and the hearts of those Venezuelan soldiers most of whom were men of the hot plains, awed by the icy heights, and the rest, Englishmen, as foreign to the heat of the low lands as to the rarified and chilly air of the Andean Moors. And, as we imagine him there at the foot of the Andes, with the bow of his will taut ready to shoot his arrow over the mighty chain and hit Santa Fe and victory we must marvel at the miracle of strength he was about to perform.

The *llaneros* beheld such stupendous heights with awe and wonder, and marvelled at the very existence of lands so different from theirs. Men, used in their plains to cross torrential rivers, to tame wild horses and to win in straight fights over bulls, tigers and crocodiles, felt chastened by such strange Nature. Many deserted. Rain fell day and night ; and the earth underfoot, nearly always steep, became treacherous like polished glass. The *soroche,* a disease of the extreme heights, attacked many of them with nausea, a sleepy powerlessness and, unless some kind comrade by beating, lashing, pushing and slapping, prevented the sick man from yielding to his sickness, death foaming at the mouth. On they went, through the mournful cold moors, under low grey skies, among ' hooded friars ', the only plants that dare bloom in those lofty solitudes. And every spirit might have yielded and every body might have fallen but for the great spirit in the small body of their leader who went silently on among them dreaming of future days.[1]

3. Confusion in Spain

There was one particular action of Napoleon that was to exercise a decisive effect on Spanish America. This was his break with Continental Spain, which started with the French invasion of 1806. The French occupied all the Spanish ministries and in March, 1808, Murat took possession of Madrid. Two months subsequently, Charles IV and his son, Ferdinand VII, were compelled at Bayonne to abdicate in favour of Napoleon. The sceptre and crown of Spain, that had been the traditional bond between the Spanish kingdoms of the old world and the new, had tumbled into the dust of a French city. Spain was, for the most

[1] pp. 343-4.

part, in French hands, with a Bonaparte set up on its throne. In Europe, the Spaniards rose against the invaders in a popular rising, with local *Juntas* or committees to coordinate their efforts, first in the Asturias, then elsewhere, and eventually there arose a self-styled Supreme *Junta* in Seville and afterwards in Cádiz that after a further period was succeeded by a Council of Regency.

It was in these circumstances that the Spanish Americans first took action. But against whom? Like their fellow Spaniards in Europe, they were acting against the condition of things in Spain itself. And because a number of governors and officials were *afrancesados* or sympathetic with France, these were got rid of in Spanish America, as was the case also in Spain. The initial *Juntas* or committees acted in the name of Ferdinand VII, whom they declared to the rightful king, against the French usurpation. The committee established in Caracas had the grandiose title of *Junta Suprema Conservadora de los Derechos de Fernando VII.* The emphasis was on Ferdinand VII, and what was implied was that later they would resume their loyalty to the Spanish Crown, when it was restored in his person. In the meantime, since the Crown could not effectively govern Spain, to say nothing of the kingdoms overseas, these kingdoms must look to their own administration. The Crown had failed and its authority was in abeyance; consequently, the power reverted to the people, who must now decide how authority was to be constituted.

This was probably the general state of mind. The old links had snapped, for the time being at least. The Spanish American peoples must look to their own affairs. The movement began therefore, not as a clear-cut and deliberate rejection of all Spanish authority but, in the main, as an attempt to find some substitute, now that Spanish authority had itself collapsed. This explains how there was no definite line of cleavage to begin with between European and American Spaniards. They were found on either side and both sides of the issue, even when this became clarified as that of independence from European Spain. What made this issue in the end so evident—and the fight for it so brutal and ruthless—was the passion and the intransigeance of some of the Spanish American leaders, most notable in this respect Bolívar himself. The issue was 'streamlined', to employ a modern expression, by the outlawing of all European Spaniards and the 'war to the death' campaign, for which Bolívar more than anyone was responsible.

That the Spanish American territories would have revolted against Spain, had circumstances been different, is probably true enough. But it is necessary to stress the fact that, when they did begin their movement of liberation, it was in the main not envisaged as a movement of full liberation and it was certainly not directed against a Spain that was wielding effective sovereignty over Spanish America.

That Napoleon was the cause of these exceptional conditions means once again that he played a major part—and at the time the all-important part—in the emancipation of Spanish America.

4. The Indian Influence

Mingled with this Napoleonic theme is another motif, with which Señor de Madariaga makes considerable play. And this he has developed in his works on the Rise and Decline of the Spanish American Empire. It is a variant on the old classical statement that captured Greece took captive her proud Roman conqueror. Then it was a case of the triumph of Greek art and thought and culture over a rougher and less subtle mind. Señor de Madariaga sees, as part of the psychological processes of Spanish Americans, a gradual assimilation of the European elements by the soil and *climat* of Southern America, more particularly as these Spanish Americans had Indian bood. The American earth laid hold of these men of Spanish faith and civilization and turned them violently against the European home and hearth of their civilization.

There are, of course, certain difficulties. As regards Indian or even darker blood, there is little evidence in the case of Bolívar : the only instance that the author can allege is that of one great grandmother, Josefa Marín de Narváez, a young woman of considerable wealth, who brought into the Bolívar family the mines of Aroa and the actual house in which Simón Bolívar was to be born. Josefa was the illegitimate daughter of Francisco Marín de Narváez and of a woman of whom little is known. Marín himself says of her : " I have a natural daughter and I recognize her as such, whose name is Josefa ; whom I had by a maid of good family, whose name I do not mention out of respect, whom I might have married without licence when the child was born ". Señor de Madariaga adds, no doubt with reason but the thread remains a most slender one : " The chances that this ' maid of good family ' was dusky are overwhelming ".[1]

He further argues from certain traits in Bolívar's character and appearance to the influence of the two native elements, the Indian and the *pardo* or mulatto. Bolivar showed something of the sadness and wistful melancholy so noticeable in the South American *Mestizos,* but Señor de Madariaga interprets this also as a characteristic of Spaniards from Galicia, the *morriña* or nostalgia. He argues too from certain physical features the persistence of a *pardo* or mulatto element : among these, Bolívar's crisp and bristling hair, jet black eyes and his flair for scents and gaudiness. How far such arguments are of value, is not evident. Families like those of Bolívar had held firmly to the Spanish connection and were generally intermarried. Not many years before the wars of emancipation an uncle

[1] pp. 17-8.

of Bolívar was in Europe, attempting to secure a title of Spanish nobility for the family. I can hardly picture George Washington a little prior to the North American war of Independence spending time and money to be created by King George III Baron Wimbledon or Earl of Stratford on Avon.

Yet it is more than probable that centuries of life in the New World had woven their imperceptible yet none the less real strands around the descendants of the *Conquistadores,* and that these had become, generation by generation, more acclimatized in spirit and sentiment as in actual conditions of living. One can find a parallel, on a smaller scale, among English or Irish living abroad and now, let us say, in the third generation from their original homeland. Probably they rate themselves English or Irish till one of the family realizes acutely that he is now a man of the new land, an Australian or an Argentinian. But the process has been going on all the time. It is the awareness that comes like a swift dawn.

Such a development will explain the occasional harking back, both in the Northern and Southern kingdoms of Spanish America to the old civilization of the Incas. Nothing might have seemed more remote or aboriginal. Yet the dreams of the *Libertadores* included that of the restoration of an Inca kingdom. Speaking to the Congress at Lima on February 10th, 1825, about his armies, after the conclusion of the campaigns in Upper Peru Bolívar declared : " They have fulfilled the heaven decreed mission entrusted to them by Congress ; in Junin and in Ayacucho[1] they have spread freedom over the whole Empire that once belonged to Manco Capac ".

In a letter to the Bishop of Cuzco, January 28th, 1828, Bolívar makes an odd juxtaposition of Christian blessings and Inca memories. " I shall count it " he affirms " one of the favours granted me by Divine Providence in this Republic to have met Your Eminence (sic) and to receive your Apostolic blessing, when I have the honour to visit that land as dear to me as is commendable the memory of Manco Capac, who with so much wisdom and humanity knew how to found an Empire on the basis of a morality unknown to other peoples who held themselves to be more cultivated ".[2]

Strange sentiments for an heir of the *Conquistadores* and their secret is most probably to be sought in the clash and stress of Bolívar's own moods. He could castigate the Spaniards as having being ' vomited ' upon the fair soil of the Americas for destruction and tyranny and yet write to Páez, the militia chief in Venezuela that justice must be re-established " as it was in the time of the Spaniards ". And, towards

[1] Junin and Ayacucho were the two last battles of these wars, fought under the leadership of General Sucre on the plateaus of Upper Peru, now Bolivia. Sucre was one of the wisest and the most humane of the *Libertadores* ; he was murdered in 1830 by members of a rival faction. Manco Capac was an historic and almost legendary Inca ruler.

[2] p. 501.

the close of his days, he became increasingly conscious of the problems he had raised with the unfurled standard of revolution. In a letter, dated September 25th, 1829, he declared to Vergara : " I assure you that I have never looked on insurrections with a good eye ; and of late I have deplored even our own against the Spaniards ".[1] A few weeks before he died, he wrote to Flores from Barranquilla that " he who serves a revolution, serves the sea " ; and on receiving a poem by Olmedo on the battle of Junin, conceived in a grand Homeric manner, he answered the poet with a certain whimsical melancholy :

> You raise us as Jupiter's eagles raised the turtle to let it fall on a rock and break its hind limbs ; you have so sublimated us that you have precipitated us into the abyss of nothingness, covering with an immensity of light the pale glow of our opaque virtues . . . Were I not so kind and were you not a poet, I should go as far as to believe that you had intended to write *a parody of the Iliad with the heroes of our poor farce.*[2]

5. English and Irish

Señor de Madariaga's work is so rich and so comprehensive that many another aspect of it might be considered. It was bound to awaken controversy, especially in South America, for it presents Bolívar and the liberation from a European point of view and is accordingly critical of the liberation and its leaders, while it attempts to assess and appreciate their merits. His treatment of San Martín, as I have already hinted, would appear severe and ungenerous.

But there is an aspect of these eventful years which is of special interest to the peoples of our islands, and that is the part played in the emancipation by men from England and Ireland. Their motives varied : some were, maybe, idealists, many more were adventurers, and of course there was a spate of unemployed officers after the Napoleonic wars. I am thinking now not of men born and bred in the Americas like Bernardo O'Higgins, who came to be known as the *Libertador* of Chile and whose name is still preserved in the principal *avenida* of Santiago, the Chilean capital or even of Almirante Brown, who improvised an Argentine navy to blockade the city of Montevideo.

After the battle of Semen early in 1818, Morillo, the Spanish general, reported that among forty officers left dead by the insurgents ten were Englishmen. He added, if we revert for a moment to the Napoleonic theme, that he had captured several staff officers with their maps and documents, from which it was evident that Bolívar intended, on arrival at Caracas, to have himself proclaimed king under the title of Simón I, Emperor of the Americas. At this time, Colonel Hippisley was recruiting men in England, and eventually five ships sailed for Venezuela, the

[1] p. 641.
[2] p. 505.

Britannia, Emerald, Dawson, Prince and Indian, under five self-styled colonels : Hippisley himself, Gilmore, Wilson, Campbell and Skeene. There is a hint in a footnote of the author that the Duke of Wellington looked with a kindly eye on the expedition.

In the same year, 1818, a Colonel English raised a brigade of 2,000 men in England. The first contingent landed in 1818 on the island of Margarita, off the Venezuelan coast, under a Colonel Blossett. The remainder sailed to Trinidad three months later, but the governor would not let them land, so they too disembarked at Margarita in April, 1819. Morillo, in his report to Madrid after Bolívar's victory at Boyacá, (1819) made this comment :

> Europe must look on with wonder while, from a Power friendly to Spain, come the considerable means our enemies possess to wage war on us . . . the army of Bolívar is mostly composed of English soldiers, Guayana is garrisoned by Englishmen ; more than 1,500 men of the same nation have come to Margarita, and the warships, the numerous 'parks' of all arms, the munitions, the clothing, the food, all the elements for making war and fighting for independence have sailed from the harbours of the King of Great Britain.[1]

Morillo was exaggerating but there was substance to his complaints. Two years subsequently, at the battle of Carabobo (1821) Bolivar's troops were saved by the steadiness of the British Legion which drew the fire of the Spaniards after the cavalry attacks of Páez had failed.

Farther to the South, the Republic of Chile had started to improvise a fleet with one captured Spanish ship, the Aguila, a vessel of 220 tons. Renamed the Pueyrredón after a well-known Argentine leader, it was put under the command of an Irishman, Raymond Morris. Shortly afterwards, the frigate Windham had been purchased in Valparaiso and rechristened the Lautaro, after the Masonic lodge that, according to Mitre, "secretly governed the political life of both countries", to whit, Chile and the Argentine. The Lautaro was commanded by George O'Brien and J. A. Turner, and the marines which the vessel carried were under Captain William Miller. Mitre adds that the officers were all English or American ('English' for Mitre would include the Irish) and spoke not a word of Spanish, so that, with the one exception of Miller, they were unable to give commands to the sailors who were in the main Chileans. An attack upon two Spanish ships in April, 1818, cost O'Brien his life, and his place on the Lautaro was taken by a Captain John Higginson. One has to add that this incipient Chilean Navy paid little respect to the ordinary rules of naval war, using Spanish and British flags with impunity. An American ship, the Columbus, was purchased, with its captain and crew, and it entered into Chilean service

[1] p. 355.

as the Araucana. Finally, the largest ship arrived from London, commanded by William Wilkinson, and was named the San Martín.

The story of this Chilean fleet continues with that remarkable character, Thomas Cochrane, tenth Earl of Dundonald, a Scot and a sailor of genius, who defeated the Spaniards, drove them from the open sea and laid siege to Valdivia and Callao. Cochrane hoisted his admiral's flag on the Maria Isabel, which was now given the name of O'Higgins. Of the officers and men in the eight naval vessels that escorted the army of San Martín by sea form Chile to Peru 600 were English or Irish.

Two further items. General Sucre's report of the fight at Pichincha, in April, 1822, declared that the Spanish commander was on the point of outflanking the South American troops with three companies of the Spanish regiment of Aragon, when " three companies of Albion which had remained behind with the park arrived and, entering the battle with their usual bravery, put the Aragon companies to total defeat ".[1]

During the final campaign of Sucre in Upper Peru a General O'Connor was chief of staff. And subsequently, at the headquarters of Bolívar in Bucaramanga, during the conference of Ocaña in 1828, were, among others, the Scot Fergusson, the Englishman Wilson, the Irishman O'Leary, other Irishmen like Crofton and Whittle, colonels of the two regiments in garrison at Bogotá. The dictatorship of Bolívar then rested, says Señor de Madariaga, mostly on a group of Venezuelan generals and Irish colonels.

JOHN MURRAY

[1] pp. 431-2.

The Claim of Morality

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1. British Moral Theory

ALL philosophy had its origin in curiosity, in the hunger of the human intellect for complete understanding of human experience. Moral philosophy is no exception. It originated in men's perplexity about certain features of those value-judgments by which human conduct and character are appraised. Differences of opinion arose about the rightness of particular acts. Each disputant tried to prove his point by an appeal to agreed principles, and it was assumed that both opinions could not be simultaneously true. Travel and trade and war brought citizens of one country, say Greece, into contact with foreign countries and civilizations, say Persia or Egypt. The surprising discovery was made that principles of conduct which were axiomatic in one's native land were contradicted by the barbarians, and not merely in practice but theoretically as well. So the debate was resumed on a deeper level, and enquiring intellects sought to decide between rival principles by invoking still more general principles held in common. Gradually the basic notions and questions of moral thinking were uncovered : what is morality ? is it objectively real, or rather, a thing of personal preference or convention varying from one individual to another or from one people to another ? what is the meaning of good and evil, of right and wrong ? how can we know whether certain actions are right, certain principles true ? what is virtue ? what is justice ? *Et cetera.* This debate began five centuries before Christ in the Athens of Socrates. It is still being vigorously argued.

Introducing a recent contribution to the debate, the Professor of Moral Philosophy of the University of Edinburgh writes : " The two peoples who have contributed most to the development of moral theory are the Chinese and the British."[1] To the non-British (and, of course, non-Chinese) reader this claim seems an arrogant one ; but, correctly understood and in its proper context, I think it is at least defensible. To begin with, Professor Macmurray himself excludes the Greeks and the Hebrews from the competition, on the ground that the former were interested in morality only as a part of general philosophy while the latter subordinated morality to religion. In the second place, the considerable body of moral speculation elaborated by Catholic thinkers from S. Ambrose and S. Augustine to the present day can also be ruled out ; most of it was

[1] From Professor John Macmurray's Introduction to *The Claim of Morality*, by N. H. G. Robinson, B.D., D.Litt. London : Victor Gollancz, Ltd. 1952. Pp. 333. 21s.

worked out in the light of revealed truth as well as of pure reason ; it is therefore moral theology rather than philosophy and need not be considered by Professor Macmurray. Even that part of Scholastic ethical thought which can properly be deemed philosophical, in as much as it relies solely on principles discernible by unaided reason, originated in the matrix of moral theology, had its questions often and its answers sometimes suggested to it by theology, was in fact the *ancilla* of moral theology. But, with the proliferation of creeds and sects which followed the Reformation, non-Catholic moralists found Christian doctrine too debatable a foundation on which to rest their ethics. A determined effort was made, especially in those countries like Britain where the Protestant Revolt succeeded, to ground moral teaching exclusively on pure reason. Soon the divorce between moral theology and moral philosophy was complete. The British ethical theory to which Professor Macmurray alludes began to be elaborated in the early part of the eighteenth century and, while often the work of Christian thinkers, strives in general to conduct its enquiries independently of Revealed Truth, indeed sometimes gives one the impression of being anxious to avoid contamination by theology. It was remarked in a critique of Sir David Ross's Gifford Lectures (*Foundations of Ethics*) that though given on a foundation established to promote the study of Natural Theology, they contain but one polite reference to the Creator in a book of three hundred pages. Finally, there is a third consideration which mitigates somewhat the challenge of Professor Macmurray's claim regarding the pre-eminence of Britain's contribution to moral theory. It all depends (as the late C. E. M. Joad might say) on what you mean by moral theory. Modern British ethicians confine the scope of moral theory within limits which appear surprisingly narrow at least to those nurtured on Scholasticism. I well remember the bewilderment with which more than ten years ago I first read Ross's *Foundations of Ethics*. Here was a book on ethical theory which, I expected, would discuss the basic moral theses treated-of in Scholastic manuals under the rubric of General Ethics. Yet how different the approach. Instead of the well-known chapter headings on The End of Man, The Norm of Morality, The Natural Law, The Nature, Source and Sanction of Obligation, I found that the book's whole purpose was to elucidate two concepts, the Right and the Good. Not only has British ethical theory shaken itself free from the trammels of theology, it no longer lays claim to the status of philosophy ; it prefers to be regarded as Moral Science.

To understand this view of the nature and scope of Ethics, one could do no better than read *The Claim of Morality*. In addition, this book provides the best single-volume introduction I know to British moral theory. The student, who wishes to sample for himself the quality of that theory and so test the truth of Professor Macmurray's statement,

has here at hand a ready means of doing so. The first half of the book gives a careful survey of the main British theories down to the present day ; the second half contains the author's personal contribution. Thus we become acquainted with the course of development hitherto and, besides, are enabled to see a contemporary practitioner in action.

In conjunction with Dr. Robinson's book, the Editor of *Studies* has invited me to comment on another recent work, M. Jacques Maritain's *Neuf Leçons sur le Notionss Premières de la Philosophie Morale.*[1] Though in method and point of view the two books are in sharp contrast, they have much in common. Both treat of the basic concepts of ethics. Both are written on somewhat the same level of specialization ; Dr. Robinson's work is one for professional ethicians, though Professor Macmurray hopes it will interest the intelligent and serious-minded general reader ; M. Maritain's is a course of lectures given at a Summer School in 1949, but belongs to a series of *travaux d'approfondissement.* Both authors are of acknowledged competence ; M. Maritain is a leader of neo-thomism and Dr. Robinson's book has won for him the degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Glasgow.

2. The Claim of Morality

When Dr. Robinson and those who share his viewpoint speak of Ethics as a science, they are far from understanding that word in the same sense as it has for the French Sociological School of Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. These latter deny the existence of a single, universal, moral law of absolute binding-force and, instead, defend a relativist doctrine according to which the moral law varies from people to people and from age to age. Every society constructs the moral code appropriate to its own peculiar conditions ; the observance of this code is right for that society, even though its tenets contradict the most sacred norms of some other group. In place of traditional ethics, we must substitute the Science of Morals, a sort of natural history of moral codes, whose aim is to collect and classify these, much as the biologist investigates and classifies plants and animals. Science is the study of what is, not of what ought to be ; traditional ethics therefore is not science. Moral obligation is represented as necessarily a social phenomenon, the result of the pressure of public opinion, of customs and of laws. The Sociological School has done good service to the positive sciences of sociology, ethnology and anthropology by amassing factual information about mankind's customs and taboos ; but its view of Moral Science is the denial of morality and is not shared by the British moralists.

Science may be taken to mean systematic knowledge, a body of certain conclusions, inferred from well-established premises, the whole forming

[1] Paris : Tequi. 1951.

a distinct and recognizable unity under the rule of some master-principle. Now this characteristic of being a system is part of what Dr. Robinson understands by the Science of Ethics. The philosophic ethics of the Scholastic tradition is systematic and hence a science in that sense. But Dr. Robinson, by calling his discipline a science, wishes to distinguish it from philosophy. True, he does not seem to have quite made up his mind whether or not to call his investigation a department of philosophy. But he quite firmly detaches it from metaphysical concepts and theses, and approximates it to the hypothetico-deductive type of the physical sciences. These latter test their hypotheses and finally erect them into laws by constant reference to the appropriate facts of their field of enquiry. So, too, moral theory must be tested by reference to the facts, and the facts in this case are the judgments of " the ordinary moral consciousness ". This is the capital notion in all Dr. Robinson's enquiry and it seems to me a pity that he did not in some one place try to define or describe it more precisely. If the " ordinary moral consciousness " is to be the ultimate arbiter of truth and falsehood in ethical theories, one would expect some such formal and explicit elucidation in a book which rigorously examines, sifts and clarifies our most familiar ethical concepts. We all know, of course, in a vague way what is meant by the sound commonsense of human kind on matters ethical. But if we are asked to be more precise we feel the same difficulty that Augustine felt when asked to define time. It does seem part of the business of the ethical theoretician, however, to give in precise formulation those notions which the man in the street knows hazily. Perhaps this criticism is unjust to the author who might reply that his whole book is nothing else than an elaborate exposition of what the ordinary moral consciousness is and says.

At any rate, this view of ethical science takes the judgments of the ordinary moral consciousness for granted and vindicates the status of science for ethics on the ground principally that the truth of its findings is tested by reference to this consciousness, just as the truth of physical hypotheses is tested by their success in " saving the appearances " of the physical world. The chief purpose of thus delimiting the scope of ethics is to secure its autonomy from metaphysics or the philosophical type of discipline.

And there is a second important difference from the traditional, or at any rate, the Scholastic view. Ethics is no longer regarded as a practical or normative science. It is not its function to propound rules of conduct for mankind, but merely to reduce the sum-total of moral thinking to a consistent, logical unity. Some other branch of knowledge, Applied Ethics, Special Ethics, " Morals ", Religion, may teach right behaviour. But this is beyond the pretensions of ethical theory. It is clear that this widely-accepted, modern conception of ethics is a revolutionary departure from the traditional view of the Scholastics, for whom, as for Aristotle,

ethics is a practical science. Here, then, in brief is Dr. Robinson's view of ethics or moral science : it presupposes human freedom and is the study of human conduct and character in so far as these are praiseworthy or blameworthy ; it is a systematic study, seeking to unify the whole field of moral thinking under a single principle, while purging our ethical judgments of error, inconsistency or hidden ambiguity ; it does not lay down rules, but describes them ; finally, it is a scientific as distinct from a metaphysical study, since it decides every question by reference to a body of facts assumed to be admitted by all, viz. the judgments of the ordinary moral consciousness of mankind.

It follows that the ultimate quest of the ethician will be to uncover the basic principle in the light of which ethical thought can be exhibited as a single system. In the history of ethics three kinds of fundamental principle have been proposed according as the subject of the basic judgment has been a motive or an act or a result. This gives a convenient method of grouping ethical doctrines. Dr. Robinson examines the different groups of theories which have been propounded by British moralists, notes how they correct and supplement each other, appraises their merits and shortcomings and thus prepares an adequate *status quaestionis* for his own contribution to the great debate. He notes five classes of theory : Sentimentalism, Intellectualism, Utilitarianism, Idealism and Intuitionism.

It was the effort to refute the psychological egoism of Thomas Hobbes (1568–1679) which began British ethical speculation. According to Hobbes, self-interest is the sole motive of all our actions and self-love the whole of the moral life. This doctrine provoked the reaction of the eighteenth-century Sentimentalist school (Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Butler), who taught that we have a special sense or sentiment which discerns in certain motives (notably in that of benevolence) a beauty and attractiveness. This is the Moral Sense, and our moral judgments are the reports of this sense on the various types of motive and character which come into its ken. Hence Sentimentalism makes judgments about motives the fundamental moral judgments. As a theory, however, it fails to commend itself to the ordinary moral consciousness because it does not account for the reality, the objectivity, which that consciousness affirms about morality ; for Sentimentalism, moral judgments express the reactions of a sense, not the insight of reason into a department of reality. This was the criticism of the rival school of Intellectualism (Cudworth, Clarke, Balguy, Price) which sees the ground of rightness or wrongness of acts in some quality, discerned by reason as inseparable from the acts in question. For Intellectualism, the basic judgments have acts for their subject, e.g. " Act A is right ". Yet though an improvement upon Sentimentalism, it does not sufficiently clarify such notions as right, good, morally good, nor does it achieve the synthesis aimed at, by showing the mutual relations of the three types of judgment. Utilitarianism, a

very common class of British theory, sees the source of moral distinctions in the goodness or badness of results. It made more progress towards a synthesis than its predecessors, but its synthesis is unacceptable when once the implications are made explicit to the moral consciousness. The heyday of Utilitarianism was the nineteenth century (Bentham, J. S. Mill, Spencer, Sidgwick) but even then it was sternly challenged by Idealism. This drew its inspiration from Kant and Hegel and found its best-known exponent in Thomas Hill Green. Besides trying to discover the basic judgment, Green made a partially successful attempt to arrange the three types into a hierarchy of importance. Actions are right if they are demanded by " my station and its duties ", and this demand depends for its efficacy on an inner striving of the spirit, of the " eternal consciousness ", towards self-realization in the good will. The good will is the ultimate criterion, but it is not to be conceived in utilitarian fashion, as the result of good actions, but rather as being identical with a complete form of life embodied in good actions. Intuitionism appeared, or rather re-appeared, in 1912, with the publication of a celebrated article in *Mind*. The article was by the late H. A. Prichard and bore the arresting title : " Does Moral Philosophy rest on a mistake ? " The answer was, of course, in the affirmative. Moralists since Plato have been asking : Why should I do my duty ? They have failed to see that the question is a spurious one. Duty needs for its validity and binding-force no motive distinct from itself ; it itself is a motive, co-ordinate with good. The fundamental kind of ethical judgment is the judgment about right (obligation). Sir David Ross, who may be regarded as the leader of the neo-intuitionists, develops Prichard's line of thought and reduces all our duties to a small number of self-evident rules, like promise-keeping : e.g. I ought to keep this promise, because promise-keeping is right. Why is it right ? Because it is promise-keeping. No general quality common to all right actions can be assigned as the ground of their rightness. At the base of our moral thinking there are a number of self-authenticating rules of duty which are irreducible to anything more fundamental or more evident. Dr. Robinson commends the analytical work of the neo-intuitionists, but notes their failure to achieve the desired unification.

He now tries his hand at showing that the judgments of morality, when hidden ambiguities, contradictions and obscurities are eliminated, form a self-consistent system. He considers the notion of right (obligation) as basic in moral thinking and the single unifying principle as being that of duty. The formal expression of the Claim of Morality would be some such judgment as : " One should do one's duty ". His moral theory is therefore not teleological (based on the pursuit of ends or values) as were those of the Greeks and Scholastics, but deontological (based on obligation) as are the theories of Kant and the neo-intuitionists.

After three lengthy and closely-reasoned chapters defining terms, come four others in which conclusions are argued. On the vital question of the criterion of morality (What makes right acts right?) he adopts, with one or two modifications, the opinion of the Oxford intuitionists. It is not, as the Intellectualist school teaches, the goodness of acts which makes them right; nor is it the goodness of results (Utilitarianism), nor that of motives (Sentimentalism). Rather, Sir David Ross is correct in denying that there is a single ground of rightness. Some acts are right because they are the keeping of promises; others because they are repayment of debts; others because they are instances of filial affection. In short, our basic rules of duty refuse to be reduced to any single rule, save the purely formal one of "Do your duty".

Dr. Robinson has no sooner attained this position than he is confronted by the perplexing problem of apparent conflict of duties. Suppose I find myself in a situation in which I must choose between two wholly disparate rules of duty, how am I to know which I ought to obey? The formal: "Do your duty" is here no help; my problem is precisely to know which is my duty or, more accurately, which ought I to do? For, according to the argument up to this point, both are duties. The spontaneous answer of the ordinary moral consciousness, as well as the theories of many moralists, suggest that the solution may be found along the lines of goodness. And sure enough, our author, despite his refusal to see the ground of obligation in the goodness of acts, or of their motives or of their results, despite his insistence on duty as fundamental in moral thinking, finally resolves the problem of conflict by an appeal to the unconditional goodness of an all-embracing form of life which the moral agent is obliged to embody in his actions. It is an idealistic solution, proximately suggested by H. W. B. Joseph[1] but remotely of Platonic inspiration. It well illustrates the dialectical movement of the complex ethical debate, in which the pendulum, having reached the deontological extreme in the theories of the Oxford moralists, commences once again its backward swing towards an ethic based on the good.

I fear this summary of a lengthy book, packed tight with argument, will seem very arid stuff to the non-specialist reader. I can only hope that the specialist will recognize the positions which are significant. One cannot but admire the author's erudition, the sustained vigour and subtlety of his reasoning, and particularly his power of lucid, non-technical exposition.

3. The Ethics of M. Maritain

When we turn to M. Maritain's *Neuf Lecons* . . ., we seem to be in a different world. Yet M. Maritain's task is the same as Dr. Robinson's, viz., to analyse the foundations of ethics. But the perspective is quite

[1] H. W. B. Joseph: *Some Problems in Ethics*, p. 98.

other. *The Claim of Morality* is a meticulous, microscopic examination of a narrowly limited field ; M. Maritain, assuming a certain philosophical outlook as proven, is concerned to place moral experience in its appropriate setting in this *weltanschauung*. Dr. Robinson, while well-disposed towards metaphysics, rigidly eschews it ; M. Maritain glories in metaphysics, is confident that in it he holds the key to ultimate truth and uses by preference the metaphysical approach to every problem. Dr. Robinson makes one presupposition viz. the reality of morality (implying human free will) and analyses three ethical notions : right, good, morally good ; M. Maritain arranges his basic notions into groups : 1. Metaphysical or near-metaphysical : good, value, moral value, end, last end, norm. 2. Purely Ethical : right, duty, fault, merit, sanction, punishment and reward. And he gives formal notice of his main presuppositions ; they are the existence of God, of the soul, of the person, of liberty and of truth.

This book is a series of studies on the basic ethical notions, not a systematic treatise proceeding in good order from first preliminaries to final conclusions. Still an attentive reader can pick out the grand lines of M. Maritain's synthesis. He uses four adjectives to describe his theory : realist, cosmic, experimental, normative. *Realist :* founded on a philosophy which claims to put us in possession of objective truth ; in particular, on a realist theory of knowledge ; on a metaphysic which apprehends and describes reality in its most supra-sensible aspects ; on a rational psychology, an account of the human *psyche,* which claims to teach us what is man. *Cosmic :* placing moral experience in its due place in a complete philosophy of the universe. *Experimental :* not inferring the content of morality from some *a priori,* idealist conception of the mind, but taking full account of the inclinations, capabilities and performance of human nature as it appears in human history and experience. *Normative :* acknowledging the function, traditionally assigned to ethics, of teaching how men ought to behave ; hence, even in its most theoretical parts, coloured by this orientation towards the guidance of action ; an ethic, therefore, which is no mere description of human ' mores ', nor yet an entirely detached and speculative analysis of the logic of moral thought, but from beginning to end an embodiment of Aristotle's characterization, a ' practical science.'

For M. Maritain, then, ethics is a department of general philosophy. It is, however, a distinct philosophical discipline, demanding separate treatment because it studies a part of human experience which cannot be fully explained by any of the other branches. As we have said above, far from being timid and suspicious of metaphysics, M. Maritain believes that fundamental ethical notions and judgments are finally intelligible only in the light of metaphysics. So little concerned is he about scandalizing the rationalist, empirical, modern mind, that he even makes incursions

into the domain of revealed religion, though always under the aegis of philosophy. Thus he has a digression on the peccability of the Angels ! And he piles up arguments in favour of his theory of an *existential* moral philosophy, as I may, perhaps, be allowed to call it. It is M. Maritain's contention that no ethics, worthy of the name of practical science, is possible without the help of certain data only ascertainable from Revealed Truth. For the right guidance of human life and conduct it is necessary to identify man's final destiny. Now man, as he really is, is not merely the rational animal which alone pure reason can discern in him. He is a supernaturalized creature, adapted by his Maker for a destiny far exceeding the legitimate expectations of that nature, nothing less than to share the life of God Himself. Not merely that, but man's is a " fallen nature ", whose proclivity towards evil, Maritain believes, has been increased by the Fall. How can any body of doctrine lay claim to be the scientific regulation of the good human life which does not take cognisance of those tremendous facts ? Hence ethics, if it is to be equal to its task, must learn those facts from Divine Revelation and take account of them in its teaching. Nor need it therefore cease to be philosophy ; its method, proceeding from the facts of human moral experience and history to their complete explanation in the light of principles of reason, is quite other than that of (supernatural) theology whose viewpoint is that of faith. This is M. Maritain's much discussed doctrine of *philosophie morale adéquatement prise,* expounded at length by him in *Science et Sagesse* and tenaciously adhered-to despite considerable criticism. In *Neuf Leçons* . . . its originator loses no opportunity of calling attention to its advantages. All Scholastics will readily admit the circumstance which occasions this doctrine, namely, that pure reason is an inadequate moral guide for " existential " man ; but many fail to see how this positive utilization of Revealed Truth does not transform ethics into Moral Theology. This, however, is not the place to pass judgment on M. Maritain's viewpoint. It is alluded to here merely to illustrate how different is the conception of ethics in the two books under review.

No one is more conscious than M. Maritain that the task of the neo-thomist philosopher does not stop short at the accurate recitation, joined perhaps to explanation in modern idiom, of the text of the Angelic Doctor. Few have done more than he to draw upon the riches of thomist principle for the illumination of modern problems. In the present book we catch a glimpse of this model neo-thomist at work. He can show as reasonable and acceptable that surprising implication of the *Prima Secundae,* Q. 89, art. 6, that " the first act of free will, the first act of the moral life, is immersed in the mystery of grace and free will. In whatever region of the earth he is born, in whatever religion or cultural tradition he is nurtured, whether he knows or is ignorant of the name of Christ, a child cannot begin his moral life aright unless by the grace of Christ."

(*Neuf Leçons* . . . p. 127) From S. Thomas' theology of the Last End of man he can extract the philosophical substratum which interests the ethician as contrasted with the moral theologian (Cf. *Leçon 5*^{e}). But he is not shackled by the letter of the thomist text. Thus in contrast with most authors of Scholastic manuals who follow mechanically the order of the *Prima Secundae* and begin General Ethics by a dissertation on man's *finis ultimus,* M. Maritain rightly insists that the true *point de depart* is moral experience, especially the analysis of moral obligation ; and he himself furnishes an excellent object-lesson of how this beginning may be made (*Leçon 5*^{e}, p. 90 seq.). At other times he amplifies or further develops what is roughly sketched by S. Thomas, as when, for instance, he gives in *Leçon 3*^{e} an interesting suggestion of the manner in which the inclinations of rational human nature become articulate in the basic judgments of right reason (Cf. *Prima Secundae,* Q. 94, art. 2). And always he is abreast of the times, fully and sympathetically cognisant of modern doctrines and able to appraise their strength or weakness in the light of thomist principle. It is no exaggeration to call M. Maritain's book a valuable contribution to modern Scholastic ethics. Not that it is flawless. In the treatment of *bonum honestum,* I noted a certain amount of confusion and inaccurate statement, due perhaps to hasty composition. At times the reader wishes that fewer questions were treated and those at greater length. Several of the more original sections, while immensely stimulating, do not carry conviction ; they make the reader wish for time and leisure to think the matter out thoroughly. Indeed, the whole book struck me as being rather an invitation to further reflection than a series of fully-reasoned solutions to the problems raised. But one thing emerges clearly : the *philosophie morale* of M. Maritain is a vastly different discipline from the Ethical Science of Dr. Robinson and his colleagues.

4. Is Moral Theory scientific ?

We have seen the contrasting viewpoints of Ethics as science and as philosophy. Those of my readers (if, indeed, any have persevered so far) who have studied ethical theory will, I fancy, have become acquainted with it in its Scholastic form and may find the conception of a purely " scientific " ethics a novel one. Yet it is not recent. Already in J. H. Muirhead's *Elements of Ethics* (1892) the beginnings are noted of the tendency to treat ethics in isolation from general philosophy. And certain advocates of this procedure (Dr. Robinson amongst them) claim for it a still more remote ancestry. It is interesting to note a similar tendency in the modern treatment of other sciences as well. Many economists, for instance, regard Economic Science as an autonomous and non-normative discipline. And this not merely in the sense that

economic analysis has become so well-documented a subject that it suffices to provide whole-time occupation for university professors. They claim for it an ideal unity and independence somewhat similar to that claimed for scientific ethical theory. The business of Economics, it is said, is not to instruct governments how to do their national housekeeping. That would imply advocating certain ends of policy and certain values, and hence accepting the philosophy which justifies those ends and values. Whereas it is desirable to keep Economics free of philosophical or ethical presuppositions and restrict it to the task of isolating and formulating economic trends. And, as in the case of scientific ethics, theorists are not wanting to find the master-principle which gives this discipline its conceptual unity and independence (Cf. Lionel Robbins : *The Nature and Significance of Economic Science*). This similarity of development in ethics and economics and, no doubt in kindred sciences as well, is significant. It reflects the prevailing distrust of metaphysics and of religious doctrines with their (often conflicting) pronouncements upon ultimate verities.

What are we to think of ethics as a science in the sense explained ? Certainly it is consistent in refusing any claim to be normative. You cannot elaborate a sound code of human conduct till you have answered the question : what is man ? and that requires philosophy. The scientific ethician is prudent, too, in being content with his limited objective and not attempting the complete explanation of moral experience ; for that, too, requires metaphysics and natural philosophy. Within these limitations, then, (of not trying to be philosophical or normative) can there be a Science of Ethics ? Undoubtedly the kind of investigation undertaken by Dr. Robinson and his school of thought is necessary. The most metaphysically-based ethic should not neglect it. One of the drawbacks, in my opinion, of much modern writing on Scholastic ethics is that it makes far too little of the task of simply describing moral thinking in a systematic way. Even those who consider the purpose of theoretical ethics to be the explanation *per ultimas causas* of moral experience, will surely admit that the first prerequisite is to give an accurate and full account of that experience. If this then be the modest aim of ethics, I cannot see why we should deny it the title of science or the quasi-autonomy which it claims. For it does seem able to answer sufficiently for its own purpose (of clarifying and systematizing moral judgments) the questions which it raises. I think that one could, on the broader map of thomistic moral philosophy, mark out an area which would contain the factual account of our moral thinking and which could be treated as an independent and self-contained unit. And I think, too, that despite superficial differences, e.g. of terminology, that enclave of territory would bear a striking resemblance to Dr. Robinson's delineation of the moral consciousness. Does not S. Thomas also marshal moral judgments under

a single master-principle ? [1] And this expresses, albeit in the vaguest and most general terms, an ideal form of life to be realized by human action. Like Dr. Robinson, Aquinas places immediately beneath this supreme principle a set of particularized rules of duty. And these appear to be disparate because they apply to distinct departments of human life and activity. But it is not true, as Dr. Robinson holds with Sir David Ross, that these rules of duty are incapable of further unification. They are unified in the first principle which expresses the whole duty of man (the veritable Claim of Morality) but simultaneously and *ratione prius* the good to be realized by human action. " *Bonum est faciendum* . . . " Here occurs the point in Dr. Robinson's theory which greatly puzzles me (though perhaps I may not understand him aright) : that, on the one hand he solves the problem of conflict of duties by an appeal to the Good as an ideal form of life, while yet adhering to the view that Duty and not Good is the ultimate unifying principle. And here I may be allowed to add a rider to my verdict above about ethics as a science. Perhaps if Dr. Robinson, like S. Thomas and his modern disciple, had approached his subject from a metaphysical angle, he would have better grasped the meaning of good and be saved from that (in my opinion, erroneous) dissociation of Duty from Good which he shares with the Oxford intuitionists. He quite truly observes that the " ordinary moral consciousness " considers the connection between duty and good quite close. Perhaps if he studied the article of S. Thomas alluded-to above and M. Maritain's commentary upon it (cf. *Leçon 7*[e]) he would get a clue as to the real nature of that connection.

In bringing this regrettably long article to a close, I can only say that I have found the study of the two books reviewed in it extremely rewarding. Each book is outstanding in its own field. The painstaking analysis of the British moralist contrasts with the French philosopher's grandiose synthesis. Now philosophy needs both analysis and synthesis and so would profit from a joining of forces by both types of thinker. For each, I venture to suggest, has something to learn from the other. I have often felt that modern Scholastic ethics, as expounded in many current manuals, is defective on the side of analytical description ; while, on the other hand, ethical theory which, through excessive fear of metaphysics, refrains from any pronouncement upon what men ought to do, seems to shirk the one task which philosophers and ordinary men for twenty-five centuries have expected ethics to do.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

[1] Cf. *Summa Theologica*" I/II, Q. 94, art. 2 : Utrum lex naturalis contineat plura praecepta, vel unum tantum .' And in the reply : Hoc est ergo primum praeceptum legis, quod bonum est faciendum et prosequendum, et malum vitandum ; et super hoc fundantur omnia alia praecepta legis naturae, ut scilicet omnia illa facienda vel vitanda pertineant ad praecepta legis naturae, quae ratio practica naturaliter apprehendit esse bona humana.

Monastic Rules in Merovingian Gaul

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THE title above may recall a controversy of the 17th century in which Bollandist Fathers and the learned Oratorian, Fr Le Cointe (Cointius), on one side, and the monks of St Maur led by Dom Mabillon on the other, exchanged many a broadside in their heavy tomes. At the Luxeuil Congress of 1950 an echo of the dispute was heard, although, let me hasten to add, it did little to detract from the value of the papers read on that occasion. It is indeed a pleasure to call attention to such studies as those by Dom Patrice Cousin, O.S.B., of La Pierre-Qui-Vire, Professor Jean Gaudemet of Strasbourg University, and Dom René-Jean Hesbert, O.S.B., of Solesmes.[1]

The problem which originally gave rise to the controversy may be stated thus :—At what period did the Rule of St. Benedict begin to find its way into the Columbanian monasteries in Gaul ?

St Columban came to Gaul about 570 and founded a group of monasteries in and around Luxeuil in Burgundy. Many other foundations —over 70 at least—were subsequently made by his disciples throughout the Frankish realms. The Rule followed in these Columbanian monasteries was that of Bangor, developed in Columban's ' Cenobitic Rule ' and his ' Rule for Monks '. Though, during Columban's lifetime and for long afterwards, the Benedictine observance had not reached the area covered by the Celtic monastic movement, we find mention of the Benedictine Rule in charters granted, it is alleged, as early as 620 to some of these Columbanian foundations. What is the significance of this ?

Some contributors to the Congress proceedings made statements on this point which demand careful examination ; for instance, Professor Le Bras' view that ' the foundations were numerous which adopted his (Columban's) Rule in the Merovingian age, but still more numerous were those which followed a composite Rule, combining St. Columban's teaching with St. Benedict's '. Dom Cousin even stated that it was ' this synthesis of the two Rules ' which found its way into *all* the monasteries ruled by the sons or admirers of Luxeuil, though Professor Gaudemet was more guarded, saying that the charters provide many instances of this kind of composite Rule. On the other hand Dom J. Laporte thought that the reformed Columbanian Rule at Remiremont in the Vosges which caused trouble between Eustasius (Columban's successor at Luxeuil)

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[1] *Mélanges Colombaniens*, edit. M. M. Dubois. Paris : Alsatia. Áth Cliath : Oifig Foillseachán an Rialtais.

and Amatus, Abbot of Remiremont, might be identified with the ' Rule of a Certain Father for Monks ', a document which is entirely free from Benedictine influence.

The glory of St. Benedict is a fact that does not rest on any erroneous interpretation of history, yet if the Church has known an age to which Cardinal Newman rightly gave the name of the ' Benedictine Centuries ' we should not forget that in North-Western Europe, in Columban's time and long after it, the dawn of that era was still faint, and that the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries may well be called ' Celtic ', as they witnessed a long-continued missionary and monastic movement from Ireland whose memory still lives in popular devotion throughout the Western Church.

This notion of the early eclipse of the Columbanian reform appeared first some six hundred years after Columban's time in the *Chronicle* compiled by Ordericus Vitalis, an English monk of St. Evroul in Normandy. In his 8th Book he says that St. Columban's disciples came to know the Blessed Maurus (one of Benedict's first companions) and his followers, and that the Irish saint partly adopted their Rule. This theory was taken up and amplified in the 17th century by Mabillon. Even Montalembert is to be found saying that from the early days of Luxeuil ' we nearly always find the two Rules figuring together like a double foundation for the communities which blossomed forth under the life-giving breath of Columban's disciples '.

Evidently Montalembert is here referring to the monastic charters. Of these documents we have for the 7th century about 95 which may be accepted as being probably more or less accurate copies of original grants. In them however, not ' nearly always ' but *only in 12,* is there mention of the two Rules, and it is not certain that even the evidence of these is to be taken at its face value. More recently still in a thesis presented at the Sorbonne the Abbé Malnory argued :—(i) that the Benedictine Rule was observed widely in Merovingian Gaul, and (ii) that it was adopted at Luxeuil by Eustasius and Walbert, so that ' before long ' the Columbanian Rule disappeared entirely.

At no time however has this position been left unchallenged by Continental authorities.

A word may be said about two arguments that have been used to sustain the above position. One is that St. Maurus, disciple of St. Benedict, founded a monastery at Glanfeuil near Angers and ruled it till his death in 584 ; hence that his Rule was already established in Gaul when Columban arrived and must have begun to spread there before 600. Another argument is that, as Benedict's relics were transferred from Monte Cassino to Fleury at some time, so it is said, in the 7th century, a great devotion to him evidently existed already in Gaul.

With regard to the first of these claims, Maurus' settling in Gaul must be dismissed as a late legend founded on unreliable evidence, quite

unknown to contemporary history and for three hundred years after its supposed date. Dom Cuthbert Butler, Abbot of Downside, says :—" our knowledge of Benedict's first two disciples (Placidus and Maurus) is limited to what Pope Gregory tells us and to the fact that there was some devotion to them in 9th century Gaul ". Pope Gregory, though he speaks of Maurus, has not a word about his going to Gaul. Neither is there any mention of him in the capitulaires of the Emperors Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, though part of the policy of these monarchs was to introduce the Benedictine Rule into their dominions.

As to the argument drawn from the translation of the relics of St. Benedict to Fleury and Sens, all we know is that the event took place between the destruction of Monte Cassino by the Lombards in 590 and its refoundation in 718. Efforts have been made to put the event back as far as possible, for instance to 650. On the other hand Pope Zachary's letter to the Bishops of Gaul in 750 or 751, urging them to see that the relics be restored to Monte Cassino, indicates rather that they had been taken thence within living memory. A more likely date therefore for their being removed would be 703, the year given by the *Annals of Lorsch.*

We know with certainty of other monastic founders whose Rules were observed in Gaul, for instance Martin of Tours, Honoratus of Lérins, Caesarius of Arles, but of any apostle of the Benedictine Rule coming into the country in the 6th or 7th century and establishing a monastery under it there is not a trace. We are also told that Pope Gregory the Great must have sent copies of the Benedictine Rule to Gaul. There is certainly no evidence for this ; the probabilities are against it. Notwithstanding his veneration for that Rule, there is no mention of such a fact in the great collection of his letters which we possess. In view of the Abbé Malnory's thesis mentioned above, namely that the Benedictine Rule must have been adopted at Luxeuil or at least combined with Columban's by the latter's immediate successors, it is rather surprising to find that the first mention of St. Benedict in the Luxeuil charters is in a brief of Innocent II for 1136 ! Moreover when Eustasius, the second abbot of Luxeuil, was attacked by Agrestius at the Synod of Mâcon in 627, the assembled bishops sanctioned the practices which Columban had introduced from Ireland. Jonas of Susa tells us that Eustasius defended those practices even to their small details before the bishops. After all why should they not have sanctioned them ? The manner of life led by the Gaulish monks before the coming of Columban and that prescribed by the Irish saint both came from a common source, the Rules of the Oriental Fathers. Eustasius was certainly no innovator. That he trained his subjects carefully in Columban's Rule according to the advice given him when he visited the saint at Bobbio is told us by Jonas who describes him as :—" so acceptable to all that none of those who had been trained in the doctrine of the Blessed Columban bewailed the

loss of their master when they beheld his teaching shining forth in the disciple ". So too Adso, Abbot of Montier-en-Der, who says that Eustasius " followed the teaching of his predecessor *in all things* ".

So also for Walbert who succeeded as Abbot in 629. How a writer can be led astray by preconceived notions may be seen in Mabillon's assertion that, according to Adso, Walbert perfected Columban's Rule " in conformity with the precepts of St. Benedict ". Turning to Adso's words, we find them to be :—" whatever had been left uncompleted by those two Fathers, Columban and Eustasius, on the material side, or in their dispositions for both lives (i.e. spiritual and material), this most blessed pastor, Walbert, made good by every means in his power . . . " Further on he says that Walbert " in no way relaxed the primitive force of the Rule . . . " In his *Miracles of St. Walbert* (whence come the above quotations) and in his *Lives* of St Berechar and St Frodobert, Adso never refers to any Rule but the Founder's. This was certainly not due to inadvertence ; he had made his early studies at Luxeuil, and was familiar with its traditions. He tells us that St Berechar was attracted to Luxeuil by its name for strict observance under St Columban's Rule—not under some kind of " combined Rule ". He cannot be accused of partisanship seeing that he was a Benedictine himself. That observance had been introduced into Montier-en-Der, as the *Miracles of St. Berechar* expressly state, *early in the 10th century.*

Three centuries separate Jonas from Adso. The former in 642 gives an eye-witness account of Luxeuil's early days, the latter records what was a well-established tradition there. On the point of the Rule their agreement is complete and should be conclusive.

In despite of the above considerations attempts have been made to evolve another kind of argument, more or less as follows :—Within a fairly short time many Gaulish offshoots of Luxeuil are found adopting the Benedictine Rule ; therefore it was from Luxeuil that they received it.

To deal with this argument, based on the language of the monastic charters of the Merovingian period, a short review of some of these is necessary. They are official documents concerning foundations, privileges and grants of various kinds given by the Holy See and kings and bishops. Of these documents few originals survive. As a general rule all we have are copies made centuries later. Among them are some which must be condemned as complete and deliberate fabrications of a later age. In other cases we can be certain that the copyist has changed the wording to suit his own ideas, or that he has not been able to recover with certainty the original text of damaged documents, or that he has been a careless scribe.

For the 7th century we have about 95 charters dealing with monasteries which may in the main be taken as genuine. As regards their indications of monastic Rules, they are of three classes, viz. (i) those

which, owing to some relevant phrase, or (as happens more often) owing to the absence of all reference to a Rule, must be taken, when evidence to the contrary is wanting, as implying the observance of what may be called " the Cenobitic Common Rule ", (ii) those which mention the Benedictine Rule alone, and (iii) those in which two or more Rules (generally Columban's and Benedict's) are spoken of together.

(i) Charters implying observance of the Cenobitic Common Rule.

Of the 95 genuine acts mentioned above, 79 come under this head, containing expressions such as are in the following list. An asterisk indicates an abbey which has a demonstrable affiliation with Luxeuil although the places so marked are only a small number of those known from other sources to have been Columbanian.

juxta regulam coenobiorum vel traditionem patrum (*Malmédy 648) ; juxta religionis norman (*Rebais, 636, *Senones, 661) ; juxta Patrum traditionem (*Cougnon, 644) ; monachi sanctae congregationis (*Corbie, 660 ; St Calais, 673) ; monachuli sub sancta regula (*Montier-la-Celle, 657) ; per instituta Patrum (Grosseau, 692) ; regulariter viventes (*Sithiu, 662) ; regula sanctorum Patrum (Bruyères, 670) ; sub sancta regula (*Rebais, 635 ; *Corbie, 659 ; *Noirmoutier, 676 ; Grosseau, 692 ; Pierre-Vif, 694 ; Tuffé, 696 ; *St Maur-des-Fossés, 700) ; sub sancto ordine (*Montier-en-Der draft, 686 ; St. Denis, 688, &c. ; Chartres, 696 ; cf. St Calais, 528, 562) ; sanctus ordo monachorum (*Corbie, 681) ; secundum ordinem et monita antiquorum Patrum (*Cougnon, 644) ; sub ordine coenobitali (Cahors, 696) ; traditionum regula paternarum (*Bobbio, 628).

To say that in all these monasteries a common rule was followed does not mean that the observance in them was in every respect identical ; it does imply that their customs came from a common source, the Rules of the Oriental Fathers, first brought to Gaul in the 4th century by St Athanasius at Trier, then spread by St Martin at Tours and Ligugé, and by Honoratus of Lérins, Caesarius of Arles, and others. The Celtic system came from the same source and through the same channels. We may be sure that as regards observance the Gaulish monasteries had a strong family likeness, not only among themselves but with the Irish ones, allowance being made for local circumstances and varying degrees of fervour.

An instance of this local variety is to be seen in the case of St Philibert. He went from Rebais, we are told, to visit " Luxeuil and Bobbio and the other *coenobia* which followed St. Columban's observance, and all the monasteries within France and Italy and Burgundy . . . making store for the future like a prudent bee, and taking as models the observances flourishing in those places, the *charismata* of Basil, the Rule of Macarius, the decrees of Benedict, the holy institute of Columban ". This hardly means that he composed a new Rule from all these sources, but that

he gained experience of the practice in different monasteries, while his own observance remained the common one of Gaul as seen in the Columbanian reform at Luxeuil, Bobbio and elsewhere. Among the altars he erected in the church at Jumièges was one dedicated to Columban, the only non-Gaulish founder honoured there in that way.

Structurally the Gaulish monasteries resembled the Irish ones in those places—and they appear to have been numerous in Merovingian times —where the communities lived in monastic villages, " hut-monasteries ", or *laurae*. Lérins, Condate, Ligugé, Ile-Barbe, Marmoutier were so arranged (though at Marmoutier the monks lived rather in the caves of the chalk-hills). So, too, with Luxeuil and its daughter-abbeys. No doubt after the plunderings of Saracens and Norsemen and the attacks of domestic foes the time came when these institutions resting on mere custom and tradition could not stand up to the trials that befell them, and needed reforming and reorganizing, spiritually as well as materially. The instrument chosen for this reform was the Rule of Benedict. But the day for that did not come for nearly two centuries after the arrival of the Irish monks.

A trait common to both Irish and Gaulish religious Rules is that none of them provided a complete code of monastic observance. This is characteristic, for example, of the Rules of Tarnata (probably Agaune, now St Maurice d'Agaune in the Valais), of Caesarius, Aurelian, Ferreol, and Donatus, the Institutes of Cassian, the Rules of a Certain Father for Monks and for Virgins, of SS. Paul and Stephen's and the Rule of the Master. As it has been well said " the Benedictine Rule is really the first monastic Rule that can be called legislation. Before his time the Rules were but brief treatises on the monastic virtues, arranged without order, with directions here and there on isolated points of conduct. . . . Monasteries at this time were in fact ruled by custom, not by law."[1]

Columban made no radical changes in the customs common to all the Gaulish Rules. The chief things introduced, or rather restored, by him were (a) an exacting *cursus* for the Divine Office, (b) a severe Penitential discipline, though this was not so foreign to Gaulish ideas as some have thought, (c) an emphasis on the independence of the monasteries, signs of which are already to be seen in the *stylus curiae* of the Apostolic See in the 6th century, and (d) a greater use of auricular confession. It remains true, nevertheless, that as Dom P. Cousin said in his paper " There was nothing revolutionary about St Columban, and he remains very faithful to the customs of the ancients ".[2]

It must be remembered that, if it was an Irish saint who inspired this renaissance, the movement itself was Gaulish. At Luxeuil the Irish monks were only a handful among the hundreds who formed the community

[1] Rev. J. Ryan, S.J., *Irish Monasticism*, p. 411.

[2] *Mélanges Columbaniens*, p. 182.

even in Columban's time. If he and his monks from Bangor planted the tree it drew its sap from a continental soil.

(ii) Charters mentioning the Rule of St Benedict alone.

There are 8 of these extant ; *Remiremont, 620 ; *St Maur-des-Fosses, 638 ; Ile-Barbe 640 ; Meaux, 642 ; *Rebais, 648 ; *Mont Blandin, 649 ; Nantua, 664 ; Limours, 696.

Hardly one of these can stand examination. The Remiremont act is a palpable fabrication, its style not even remotely resembling the 7th century style of official documents in Gaul.

Nor can the St Maur act of 638 be accepted. In it Clovis II in the first year of his reign—that is when he was only four years old—makes a grant of land for the establishment of a community on condition that the monks pray for his mother, wife and children ! Moreover the mention of the Benedictine Rule is suspect seeing that Babelin, its first Abbot, came from Luxeuil with (we may believe) a group of monks from that abbey. In later grants to St Maur there is no mention of St Benedict.

For Ile-Barbe, the 640 charter is certainly untrustworthy. It speaks of Clovis II as " Emperor " in a style not used till the time of the Carolingian emperors in the 9th century, and never found in public acts of the Frankish kings. The version we possess has been dated by the copyist from Laon, a town that was never in Clovis II's territory.

The brief supposed to have been given to Ste Croix in Meaux by Pope John IV in 642 seems never to have been taken seriously even by the monks there. They did not produce it in their legal action with the Bishop of Meaux in 1350. The document is supposed to record a grant made by Pope John on Clothair's request, its author being apparently unaware that Clothair died in 628, whereas John was Pope from 640 to 642 ! The document too is dated according to the year of the Incarnation, a style never used in public acts of this century, and in the year it specifies, 660, Pope John was eighteen years dead. Moreover, of the Bishops whose signatures appear on the document, some never existed.

In the brief for Mont Blandin dated 649, besides many mistakes similar to those which have been noted above, there is a quotation from a work of Hincmar of Rheims who died in 882 !

The brief of 664 for Nantua purports to be granted by " Pope Gregory " to Childeric II. Its author is unfortunate here. Gregory I died 56 years before Childeric began his reign and Gregory II became Pope 42 years after he ended it !

Were we to take the 648 charter of Rebais as genuine, Pope Martin would have given leave to the monks to elect their abbots " according to the Rule of St Benedict ". To say that Rebais at that time was even partially Benedictine is to ignore all the evidence. Jonas explicitly says

that Rebais was founded under St Columban's Rule by a monk from Luxeuil, Agilus. In the *Life of St Audoen*, where Rebais is given as following the Rule of St Columban, we read that Irish pilgrims often called there " because of their affection for the venerable Audoen who had such extraordinary devotion to St Columban, and because they were attracted by the outstanding reputation of the Blessed Agilus whom Columban had first trained in the religious life." The charter, as we have it, is certainly corrupt, but if, notwithstanding this, it derives from a genuine original we can gather that it directs the monks in only one matter, their election of a superior, to follow the Benedictine, that is, the Roman procedure.

While the 696 charter for the convent at Limours contains some inaccuracies, it is not impossible that a nuns' community may, as we shall see, have adopted a combined Benedict-Columban Rule.

(iii) Charters in which two or more Rules are mentioned.

In the following list some abbreviations are used :—RA—Regula Antonii ; RB—Regula Benedicti ; RB et mod. L—Regula Benedicti et ad modum Luxoviensis monasterii ; RC—Regula Columbani ; RD—Regula Donati ; RM—Regula Macarii ; RP—Regula Pachomii.

*Solignac, 631 or 866 (RB et RC) ; *Rebais, 636 (RB et mod. L) ; *St Maur-des-Fossés, 640 (RB et mod. L) ; St Columba's Convent, 641 (RA et RP et RB) ; *Rebais, 642 (RB vel RC) ; Pierre-Vif, 659 (RB et mod. L) ; *Hautvillers, 662 (RB et RC) ; Bèze, 664 (RC seu RB) ; *Barisy, 664 (RB seu RC) ; *Soissons, 666 (RD ?) ; Galilee, 667 (RB et RC) ; Fleury, 667 (RB et RC) ; *Corbie, 682 (RB vel RC) ; Grosseau, 683 (RB vel RM seu RC) ; *Montier-en-Der, 692 (RB vel RC).

The charter for the convent of St Columba, Virgin and Martyr, seems to be a mere draft of a proposed request for a privilege to be obtained from John IV, dates as well as names of persons and places being left blank.

Galilee was in Alsace. Its foundation-charter of 667 is shown to be spurious by its chronological mistakes.

Bèze had as its first superior Waldelin, a Luxeuil monk. The mention of the Benedictine Rule in the extant copy of the charter is explained by Dom Luc d'Achery, O.S.B. as having crept into the text from a marginal note in the *Chronicle of Bèze*, a document compiled or revised in the 12th century. The first mention of Benedict in the body of the *Chronicle* occurs in connexion with Willelmus an Italian who became Abbot of Bèze in 990.

The story of the Solignac charter shows how unreliable these documents may be. Solignac was founded by St Eligius with monks from Luxeuil. The charter is a conveyance made by Eligius to Remaclus, the first Abbot, of lands he had received from Dagobert I. The present

document may not even be a copy of the original. After the Abbey with its archives had been burnt by the Norsemen, the community petitioned the bishops assembled at Soissons in 866 for a renewal of their privileges. It was then that Eligius' grant was renewed, but whether from memory or from some rescued fragment we can not say.[1] It is very unlikely that there was any mention of Benedict in the lost original of the grant. Eligius' relations with Luxeuil cannot be questioned in face of the clear testimony of Audoen who wrote his *Life* and of Jonas of Susa. There is no mention of Benedict in any of the 14 Homilies of Eligius which we possess, nor is he referred to in the charter for Malmédy, whither Remaclus went from Solignac as first Abbot, nor in the charter for Cougnon founded from Malmédy. In face of these facts it is hard to see how Eligius could have adopted, even partly, any Rule but Columban's for the Solignac Abbey. It is just possible, however, that some juridical arrangement, such as the election of the Abbot, had been borrowed from the Benedictine code, and that this brought his name into the charter.

As for the Rebais charter of 636, the fact that none of the abbeys quoted as precedents in it were in any way Benedictine points to the unlikelihood of Rebais itself having adopted that Rule.

The charters of Corbie and Pierre-Vif are almost completely identical. This in itself suggests that they had the same Rule. Pierre-Vif, founded before Columban's day by Theodechildis, daughter or grand-daughter of Clovis I, must, of course, have followed some version of the monastic Common Rule. Corbie was founded from Luxeuil at the request of Queen Baldechildis. Moreover, even on textual grounds the mention of Benedict in the Corbie charter is seen to be a later insertion. We may argue hence that the mention of Benedict for Pierre-Vif, if it existed in the original document, must have referred to some juridical point such as we have mentioned above in the case of Solignac.

The same considerations apply to Hautvillers and Barisy, both certainly Columbanian foundations.

As regards Fleury, we have what is supposed to be the will of Leodebald, Abbot of St Aignan, by which in 667 he provides for its founding. The document seems to be a mixture of two distinct originals, in one of which the Fleury community is spoken of as not yet established, in the other as already established. The chronicle of Montier-en-Der (to be mentioned below) tells us that Benedict's Rule was first brought to Fleury by Odo of Cluny about 926. Till that date we may safely take it to have been completely Columbanian.

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[1] The Solignac charter and its latinity are defended by Bruno Krusch (MGH. Script. rer. merov. IV, App. i, pp. 743 sq). Hauck condemns the mention of Benedict as an interpolation (Kirchengesch. Deutchlands, I, p. 283). So do the Bollandists, May I p. 275, Oct. 11 p. 472.

Montier-en-Der was established in 672 by Berechar, a Luxeuil monk. His first community would seem to have been partly composed of serfs[1] whom he had purchased and freed. The anonymous writing, *The Miracles of St Berechar* which is in effect a chronicle of the Abbey of Der, was perhaps written by Adso and completed after his death in 992.[2] It is very definite about this matter of the Benedictine Rule. That Rule first appeared, it tells us, in the Empire at the time of Ralph, Duke of Burgundy, who ruled 923 to 926. It says :—" For the Rule of our most holy Father, Benedict, *hitherto unheard of among the men of the Frankish Empire,* was . . . introduced into many churches by the persistent efforts of that prince (i.e. Ralph). Those who at that time followed any monastic Rule whatever kept in one way or another the observance which was celebrated under the name of Luxeuil ". Montier-en-Der was not far from the city of Toul and the *History of the Bishops of Toul,* composed probably in the 10th century, likewise tells us that Gauzlinus, who was Bishop there in the same century, introduced into his episcopal city the Rule of St Benedict, " a thing hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of that kingdom (i.e. Burgundy) ".[3]

This examination of the charters would seem to lead to the following conclusions :—

(a) Being essentially legal documents, they are not concerned with monastic observance ; they deal with formalities involved in juridical matters, for instance, establishment of new communities, relations with various authorities, election of superiors. It was in connection with the last of these matters that the Benedictine—in other words the Roman—procedure was being introduced. This was the way in which the Rule of Benedict first made its appearance in the Gaulish monasteries.

(b) The use in certain charters of the names of Columban, or of Luxeuil, almost interchangeably, implies that in these abbeys the Common Rule of the Gaulish coenobia as reformed by Columban was generally observed. This is borne out by all the contemporary evidence. Adaptations were no doubt made locally, but no radical change took place until some of the communities received the Benedictine Rule in the Austrasian movement (c. 740). Moreover the evidence for Der shows that is was not adopted universally even at that date.

(c) If the Rules of Benedict and Columban had been combined in any considerable number of abbeys, some standardised form of the

[1] We are reminded that Philibert of Jumièges used to send out his monks in ships to ransom children and young folk who had been kidnapped or sold into slavery. It was a ship despatched on such an errand, and lying in some southern Irish harbour that Sidonius, the Irishman, joined—in his case voluntarily. He became the friend of Philibert and Audoen, and afterwards founded the Abbey of St. Saëns, named after him.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum,* Oct. VII, " De Sancto Berchario ", p. 1021.

[3] Dom A. Calmet, O.S.B., *Histoire de Lorraine,* I, Preuves p. 122.

combination would certainly have come into being. This did happen in the case of nuns. Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) in his *Codex Regularum* gives us the Rule of Columban and the Rule of Benedict, and also combined versions of the two for the use of nuns (i.e. Donatus' Rule and The Rule of a Certain Father). We have definite evidence, outside the charters, that such a combined Rule was adopted in convents at Jussamoutier, Laon and Clermont, and perhaps at Soissons. The *Codex Regularum* contains nothing of the kind for monks.

The question remains :—When precisely did the Benedictine Rule begin to find its way into the Columbanian foundations ?

Evidence on the point is not wanting. It is to be found in the decrees of bishops or abbots convened by the Carolingian princes in the 8th and 9th centuries, and in the same rulers' Capitularies, i.e. their instructions to Counts in charge of Provinces or to *missi dominici* sent out from the Palace on special missions.

Before speaking of the Carolingian period however, a word may be said about another piece of evidence from which it has been deduced that the Benedictine influence made an early and widespread appearance in Gaul. The ' Canons of Autun ' is the name given to six items which occur among a collection of extracts from Church Councils compiled possibly in the 7th century. One of these Canons reads :—' Concerning abbots and monks it is fitting that . . . they fulfil whatever the canonical observance or the Rule of St Benedict teaches '. At the end of the collection of decrees in which the Canons are included we find the words ' Consent and confirmation of Leger (*Leodegarii*), Bishop of Autun '. Efforts have been made to hitch the Canons on to a National Council in Gaul and to show that they were enacted by an episcopal meeting convoked by Theoderich III (670–691), an assembly of which we read in another document, *The Testament of St. Leger.*

It can only be said that even if this Will were genuine, it would be impossible to connect the Autun Canons with the bishops who met to sign it as witnesses (a common procedure in Merovingian Gaul). The *Testament* does not say that the bishops met at Autun, but at another place (*Cristiaco loco*) which cannot now be identified. It does not indicate that they sat in Council and it has no word of the Autun or any other Canons. But the Will has in fact been condemned as a later fabrication by the Bollandists and Pardessus, among other leading authorities. Clearly then, all we have in the Autun Canons is part of an episcopal charge which has been inserted in a collection of conciliar decrees for the use of Autun diocese. Coming as they do after the appearance of the combined Rules for nuns, the canons indicate that St Leger proposed to introduce the Benedictine Rule for monks also under his jurisdiction.

In the same way a synod held by Ansbert, Archbishop of Rouen, in 688, is given as a sign of a rising Benedictine influence. According

to his *Life* Ansbert is said on that occasion to have imposed the Benedictine Rule on Fontanelle Abbey (now St Wandrille), of which he had been Abbot. This *Life of St. Ansbert* is however textually quite unreliable.[1]

The value of yet another piece of evidence is discounted by the fact that the Benedictine scholar, Dom Luc D'Achery, condemned as the addition of a late scribe a statement in the Chronicle of Castres Abbey that it was founded under the Rule of St. Benedict in 647.

We may say then that this search for a noticeable Benedictine influence on the Columbanian abbeys before well on in the 8th century has met with little success. Its first real appearance is to be found in what may be called the " Austrasian movement ". This was mainly the work of Carloman, Duke of Austrasia. Under his authority bishops were convened at Estinnes in 743 and Soissons in 745, and decreed that the Benedictine Rule be followed in religious communities.

In 802 Charlemagne, according to the *Annals of Lorsch*, convoked at Aachen an assembly wherein the abbots and monks in attendance decided to have the Rule of Benedict read and explained to them. It appears that, even under princely and imperial urging, the knowledge of the Rule was making slow headway ; we find Theodemar, Abbot of Monte Cassino, writing to Charlemagne who had asked him for a copy of it :—" Because it is Your Grace's pleasure that some of the monks of that country (Gaul) be trained according to the teaching and example of our blessed Father . . . here is the Rule . . . which we have had copied for you . . . "

An attempt has been made to deduce from a capitulary of 811, that Charlemagne knew of no Rule but that of Benedict. That such a notion is untenable is shown by the words of a charter issued by him in 775 for the abbey of Farfa in Perugia :—" We would make this grant in the same way as the other monasteries of Lérins, Agaune and Luxeuil enjoy it, where the Rule of Basil, Benedict and Columban or the other Fathers is observed ".

By the middle of the 8th century we discern therefore the first dawning in Gaul of the " Benedictine Centuries ", when abbeys already famous attained a new splendour, Luxeuil and St Gall, St Wandrille, Jumièges, Corbie, St Valery, Faremoutier and Jouarre, and so many others which owed their existence to an Irish monk and to the Gallo-Romans and Franks who received his teaching. It was then that Benedict's sons began to erect the shining edifice in which as it has been said " Saint Benoît s'est couché dans le lit de Saint Colomban ". The foundations of that building were laid in a monastic outpouring from the shores of Ireland such as Europe has not witnessed at any other time. Columban was only one of that missionary host, but surpassing them all by his gift of winning

[1] So thinks W. Levison who edited it in *M. G. H. Script. rer. merov.* V, p. 630.

the love of men, and of kindling the sacred flame in their hearts. If another renaissance came long after he had passed away, it must be insisted that his achievement was far more than its short-lived prelude. To assert that his teaching was soon combined with, or replaced by, another's is to ignore history, substituting for it a theory, which is a mere surmise based on evidence mostly quite worthless, at best very doubtful. In spite of a tendency to overlook that truth the long-memoried gratitude of the Christian world to Columban and his followers was strikingly shown at the Luxeuil Congress of 1950. That celebration did honour to all who took part in it, prominent among them the Benedictine scholars whose erudition has added so much to our knowledge of a great Saint.

Bibliographical Note. For the charters of Merovingian Gaul the most complete collection is *Diplomata, Chartae, Leges,* re-edited by J. M. Pardessus (Paris 1849), which may be supplemented from *Revue de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* and *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Diplomatum Imperii* (edit. Pertz). Other primary sources will be found in different sections of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum* of C. Le Cointe, Cong. Orat. ; *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists ; *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.* of Dom J. Mabillon.

James O'Carroll

The Monastic Revival in the Anglican Communion

by THE EARL OF WICKLOW

THE history of the Oxford Movement and its frequently unexpected results still remains one of peculiar fascination, which can be seen in the constant flow of literature on the subject which appears year by year. The paradoxes in its history make it specially interesting : it is, for instance, strange to consider how the starting-point of the movement (if we except the purely private meeting at Hadleigh) was John Keble's sermon in the university church at Oxford, denouncing the proposal to abolish certain bishoprics in the established Church of Ireland, while the vicar of that church, a young Mr. Newman, would twenty years later be crossing over to Ireland to found a Catholic university, and incidentally to build a Catholic university church in Dublin. We may perhaps also assume that both preacher and vicar would have been surprised had they known that the movement which was coming to birth on that day would within a century have peopled the Anglican Church with a considerable number of religious, monks, friars and nuns, whose influence was to reach some of the furthest parts of the world.

Even before that day there had been attempts to establish the religious life in the Church of England, but they were on a small scale and proved abortive ; the most interesting of these was probably the curious mixture of community and family life at Little Gidding, led by Nicholas Ferrar and his family, in what the Puritans called " the Arminian nunnery ", during the reign of Charles I, and perhaps rather apocryphally described by Shorthouse in *John Inglesant* ; the little church is still there, and was recently the scene of Anglican celebrations, but the " nunnery " is no more. There is also an interesting reference in the autobiography of one Father Bede of St. Simon Stock, a discalced Carmelite, who before entering religion bore the name of Walter Travers, that in the seventeenth century there were in London " twelve ladies of good birth " who lived in community under the direction of Dr. Sancroft, then Dean of St. Paul's ; but the community came to an end, because the lady who had been elected abbess went to Flanders to study the Benedictine rule, where she not only married, but also submitted to Rome !

Other abortive attempts to establish religious communities followed. In 1694 Mary Astell wrote *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies,* in which she outlined her intention of erecting a monastery, which, lest the name should arouse suspicion, would be called a " religious retirement ". It would seem that this publication was well received, and in 1697 a

second part appeared, dedicated to Princess Anne of Denmark, and stating that " a certain great lady " had promised £10,000 for the project ; but the scheme was denounced in the *Tatler,* and Bishop Burnet was able to arouse anti-Catholic prejudice against it, so that the attempt came to nothing. In the same year, 1697, a " religious society of single women ", with some twenty-one members, was started by Edward Stephens, of which he gives an account in a *Letter to a Lady,* telling of " the More Excellent Way, or a Proposal of a Compleat Work of Charity," but the " More Excellent Way " seems to have led nowhere. In the following year a book of devotion for the family was produced by Sir George Wheeler, in which he spoke with high praise of the monasteries he had visited in Greece and advocated monasteries for women as " more convenient, if not very necessary, for all times and countries " ; the author looked forward to less prejudiced days, when the religious life might be restored.

A final attempt was made in 1737, a time when, with the suppression of Convocation, the Church of England was in the doldrums. This time the lead came from Scotland, and Sir William Cunninghame, the Laird of Prestonfield, approached Archdeacon Sharp, the son of the Archbishop of York, with a scheme for " a Nunnery of Protestant and religious and virtuous persons, well born, of the female sex, conforming to the worship of the Church of England " ; his plan was worked out in detail and Sedgefield, in Co. Durham, was proposed as a suitable spot. The Archbishop, however, no doubt smelt out popery and enthusiasm and frowned on the scheme, so that it also was still-born. The next ninety years, apart from the labours of the Wesleys and the Evangelicals, was a period of dearth for Anglicanism, of such dearth indeed that the tree planted by the Wesleys was unable to bear fruit in the barren soil of the Establishment, and all desire for religious consecration seemed to have died out, though there was a distinguished few, among whom are to be found William Law, John Wesley, Howard the philantropist, and Archbishop Leighton, who still had the idea wistfully in mind ; it has even been suggested, but I do not know with what authority, that John Wesley based the rules of his Methodist Societies on that of St. Benedict. The seed was however dormant and not dead, and as the spiritual climate improved there was to be a fine flowering, as copious as it was varied.

The first signs appeared in 1826, but at that time the wind was blowing from a humanitarian rather than from a purely religious direction ; the first mover was the Rev. Alexander Dallas, who was curate of Wooburn, in Buckinghamshire, and whose biographer tells us that " the experience of two parishes and continual experience with the poor led him to feel keenly the lack of proper nursing and attendance in sickness. The doctor often lived at a great distance, and the care of

a large circle of parishes was committed to one young practitioner. The village nurses were deplorably ignorant, and Mr. Dallas, having resided in France where he had seen the superior nursing and the many advantages carried on by the 'Soeurs de la Charité,' devised a plan for the same system to be adopted in England."[1] I know of no evidence that he had any connection with the new pioneers at Oxford, and Sir Bertram Windle does not include him in his *Who's Who of the Oxford Movement.* In an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1825, under the title of "Sisters of Charity", and believed to have been written by his friend Dr. Gooch, he is described in scarcely sacerdotal terms :— "My friend C—", so runs the article, "is a country clergyman. In his youth he was an officer in the army and served during several campaigns in the late war in the Peninsula. At the conclusion of the war he left the army, looked round for a profession, and, unsuitable as it may appear, fixed on the Church, and having passed the requisite time at college in honest and earnest studies, he took orders and obtained a curacy." Whether his second profession was "unsuitable" or not, he was to have no small influence, and of a most valuable kind.

Both Dr. Gooch and Mr. Howard, the prison-reformer, had also visited the continent, and had been much impressed by the work of the Sisters of Charity and of the Béguines ; they had seen how well run were their hospitals and how efficient they were at caring for the sick poor in their homes, and we may believe that Dr. Gooch's article was inspired by Mr. Dallas. Soon after this appeared the latter published a pamphlet called *Protestant Sisters of Charity,* in which he urged that "a Society of Females be formed to be called the Protestant Sisters of Charity (unless some fitter name should be selected for it) ; that they should be placed in parishes where the particular exigencies most require them ; and that their occupation shall be to visit the sick and afflicted, administer simple remedies for such diseases as they are able to recognize, and act under the directions of the appointed medical man in such as are above the reach of their knowledge ; that in all cases they shall make it a main object to improve the opportunities afforded them for the advancement of true religion in the hearts of their patients ; that with this view they shall be placed under the superintendence and direction of the parochial clergy, to whom they shall report the results of their visits and from whom they shall receive instructions."

This was very sensible and sound, and it certainly was needed, for at that time English nursing was at an incredibly low ebb ; Mrs. Gamp and Mrs. Prigg were no mere figments of Dickens' imagination, but grim realities. A book of great interest was written at that time by Miss Stanley,

[1] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of the Rev. Alex. R. C. Dallas, M.A.* (Nisbet, 1873). This is quoted in *The Religious Communities of the Church of England* by the Revd. Allan T. Cameron, M.A., F.S.A. Scot. (Faith Press, 1918) to which work I am greatly indebted for the information given here.

the sister of the Dean of Westminster and the friend of Manning ; she accompanied Florence Nightingale to the Crimea and was received into the Church by the chaplain when they were on the journey. In her book, which was entitled *Hospitals and Sisterhoods,* she stated that :— " there is an increasing desire amongst Protestants to introduce and revive the voluntary system of charitable services which was extinguished at the Reformation." She went on to give a rather lurid, but one fears an accurate picture :— " Only a very low class of women apply for the situation of under-nurse, and the difficulty of obtaining them at all is so great at times that matrons are often obliged to receive them without obtaining any character. Till within the last few years drunkenness was carried on to a fearful extent, and though this has been considerably checked, it still remains the besetting sin of nurses (one thinks of Sarah Gamp and Betsy Prigg and their ' tea ' party) and excuses are made for it on the plea that they need the support of spirits under their harassing work. A medical man in one of the larger Northern hospitals was questioned as to the religious character of the nurses. ' If I can get a sober set,' was his answer, ' it is as much as I can hope for.' "

Mr. Dallas's pamphlet aroused considerable interest, and especially that of two influential people, Robert Southey the poet, and Mrs. Fry the Quakeress prison-reformer. In his *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society* Southey strongly advocated the idea, and as in so much of his writing, with no small pomposity. Referring to the proposed Sisters, he stated that England " is grievously in need of them. There is nothing Romish, nothing superstitious, nothing fanatical in such associations ; nothing but what is righteous and holy ; nothing but what belongs to that *Threskeia,* that religious service which the Apostle James, the brother of Our Lord, has told is pure and undefiled before God and the Father. They who shall see such societies instituted and flourishing here may have a better hope that it may please the Almighty to continue His manifold mercies to this Island, notwithstanding the errors which endanger it and the offences which cry to Heaven."[1]

After this, two other influences were to come into play. The first of these came from Kaiserswerth, in Germany, where the Protestant pastor, Dr. Fliedner had, largely under the inspiration of Mrs. Fry, founded in 1836 a congregation of Lutheran deaconesses, to undertake nursing and other good works ; so successful was this venture that sixteen years later there were one hundred and twenty-eight deaconesses and probationers, with seven branch houses, including a hospital with a hundred and twenty beds and a female lunatic asylum. Florence Nightingale drew most of her ideas from Kaiserswerth, and Mrs. Fry was so much impressed when she paid a visit in 1840, that on her return to London she decided to start an establishment for the training of nurses ;

[1] *Colloquies,* p. 330.

this was the first of its kind in England. In 1841 she approached Dr. Blomfield, the Bishop of London, to find out his views " respecting the new institution for the Protestant Sisters of Charity ". She was supported by the Queen Dowager, at whose suggestion the title " Sisters of Charity " was changed to that of " Nursing Sisters ". Their first home was in Raven Row, Whitechapel, but two years later they moved to Bishopsgate, where they remained for many years ; a number of probationers received training in the London Hospital. By the special instructions of the Bishop of London, it was agreed that no vows were to be taken ; considering how immature everything was, this was surely a wise decision. This institute had various vicissitudes, and in 1883 the majority of its members formed themselves into an Anglican Religious Order, the Nursing Sisters of St. John the Divine.

Such was the nursing background, and round about the year 1840 we find the eminent Oxford divine, Dr. Pusey, coming to the fore ; his views were however more in accordance with Catholic teaching and practice than those of Mr. Dallas and Mrs. Fry, though we find him quoting from Southey's *Colloquies* in a privately circulated paper. In 1840 Newman wrote to Bowden :— " Pusey is at Brighton ; pretty well. At present he is much bent on establishing an Order of Sisters of Mercy (I despair somewhat, but I always croak), and is collecting information." Pusey, as was his wont, was collecting information in a most practical way. He wrote to a Mr. Grenfell, who was studying medicine in Paris, asking for the rule of the Sisters of Order of St. Augustine, and also that of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul ; shortly after that he visited Dublin, where he had conversations with Archbishop Murray and Mother Catherine McAuley, and attended a profession ceremony at the Baggot St. House. Like many holy people, Mother Catherine was not altogether without asperity. " We had a long visit from Mr. Pusey," she wrote to a member of the Order, " whose new opinions have created so much interest. His appearance is that of a negligent author, such as some of the poets are described, his manner most pleasing, his countenance not very expressive of a strong mind, but in conversation he does not betray any imbecility except the wanderings of all Protestants." After the ceremony she wrote :— " We had the celebrated Dr. Pusey with us, who engaged all Dr. Murray's attention." It is likely that during this visit Dr. Pusey obtained much valuable information, which proved useful when he himself became a founder. I must own that Mother Catherine also says " The poor Bishop very much fatigued,"[1] but no doubt she refers to the ceremonies.

Dr. Pusey had another valuable source of information in Miss Marian Hughes, who went to France and studied the whole question of the religious life for women, especially at Bayeux and Caen ; she became

[1] *Catherine McAuley*, by R. Burke Savage, S.J., (Gill, 1949).

the first member of the Anglican Communion to take religious vows, which she did in the University church, Oxford on Trinity Sunday, 1841, within a few weeks of Dr. Pusey's visit to Dublin ; on that occasion the celebrant of the Holy Communion was the Vicar, the Revd. J. H. Newman. The seedling had been planted and it was to grow to a great size.

It would be impossible to try and give an account of the rise of all the Anglican Religious Orders within the scope of an article, and it would be a most complex task, because while some of them have died out, others have been absorbed in more flourishing Orders. The fact remains that the tree has taken root and has grown ; indeed there has been a Jack and the Beanstalk quality about its growth ; if we think of their first beginnings, when, as their chronicler says " there was the utter inexperience of those who were now banded together in community life, having had no probation, no novitiate, no testing of vocation, and no conception of what it was to live under rule. There was the inexperience of those who had to guide the community, with no traditions and no precedents of any kind ",[1] then we may well wonder that the movement ever survived. We should also remember the unpopularity and suspicion and mockery that these women had to face, for England was still in the grips of the No Popery mania, which was to reach its climax at the restoration of the Hierarchy. They must have had more than the normal human share of courage and perseverance, for they had an uphill battle to fight over a long period of time ; when Dr. Pusey founded the first community in London, to work in the slums of St. Pancras, they were coldly received by the poor, who thought they were Roman Catholics in disguise, and the local Anglican vicar said that owing to them his congregation was on the decrease.[2]

But the tree grew steadily, constantly putting out new branches, even if it lost a few old ones ; perhaps where there were losses it was due to the members of the order clinging too closely to Victorian rather than to medieval ways. I can remember a friend of mine, an Anglican clergyman, who in holiday-time used to act as chaplain to a somewhat moribund convent, telling me that the nuns always reminded him of dried flowers in an old prayer-book ! Messrs. Mowbrays published two years ago a most absorbing *Guide to the Religious Communities of the Anglican Communion* and this states that in England alone there are now no less than forty-five communities of women, most of these with a considerable number of branch-houses, some of these overseas and in the mission-field ; one of the strongest of these, the Community of St. Mary the Virgin, whose mother-house is at Wantage, Berkshire, has twenty-six branch-houses in Britain, three in India, and five in South Africa, while they

[1] Cameron, *op. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

are closely rivalled by the Sisters of the Church of Ham Common, Surrey (they were bombed out of their original home at Kilburn, in West London) who have thirteen branch-houses in England (which are responsible for five elementary schools) three in Canada, five in Australia, and one in Tasmania. There is an independent Welsh community, following a Cistercian rule, a Scottish community, and two in Ireland, of which one has a branch-house in Ireland and another in Wales ; in Africa there are five local communities, all with branch-houses, two in Australia, one in Canada, one in India, and one in New Zealand, all of these also with branch houses. The movement has spread to America, but less widely than in Britain, though it must be remembered that in the United States what is known as the Episcopalian Church is not a very large body ; there are thirteen communities, most of them with branch houses.

I do not apologize for this rather dry list of statistics, because I think they are almost startling, so great has been the progress made in the last century ; we must remember that these religious are in no sense " playing at it ", but are making a genuine attempt to keep religious rules based on Catholic models. It is also of interest that during the last fifty years a number of enclosed contemplative communities have been established, five in England, one in Wales, and one in the United States ; the others take on most forms of Christian work, including the care of lepers. Catholics will perhaps look a little askance at a recently founded American community, of which we are told in Mowbrays' *Guide* that " the Sisters conduct retreats, . . . speak in churches . . . " ; but this is the only one on the list !

The religious life for men was later in starting and its progress has been less spectacular, but several very solid orders have grown up, which have an increasing influence in the Anglican communion, for their members are constantly conducting missions and retreats. Mgr. R. H. Benson was as an Anglican a member of one of these, the Community of the Resurrection, and of his external work he writes :— " I began to be more and more encouraged in mission-work and to find that my quiet life at Mirfield gave me a power that I could obtain in no other way. It is hard for Catholics to believe it, but it is a fact that as an Anglican I had far longer hours in the confessional than I have ever had in the Catholic Church, though, of course, this is to be accounted for by the fact that since becoming a Catholic I have never preached a regular mission . . . Yet everywhere it seemed as if an immense work was waiting to be done. We came from our quiet life red-hot with zeal and found everywhere men and women who seemed to have been waiting for us in an extraordinary manner."[1] I am sure the same may be said of what happens to-day.

[1] *Confessions of a Convert* (Longmans, 1920).

The first attempts at establishing the religious life for men were less successful than was the case with women. As far back as 1836 Newman would seem to have had the idea in mind, and we find him writing to J. W. Bowden :— "Your offering towards the young monks was just like yourself, and I cannot pay you a better compliment. It will be most welcome. We should begin next term ; but since, however secret one may wish to keep it, things get out, we do not wish to commit young men to anything which may hurt their chance of success at any College in standing for a fellowship." He put his ideas into somewhat limited effect at Littlemore six years later, though he expressly contradicted all rumours that he intended to start a monastery and no vows were taken ; the life there must however have been austere enough, and so rough was their house that Father Dominic, the Passionist, who received Newman into the Church, said that Passionist Retreats were " palaces compared to this."[1] The aspirants at Littlemore were not however destined to be the founders of an Anglican religious order, but were to found the Birmingham Oratory instead. Father Faber, the future founder of the London Oratory, who was the Anglican rector of Elton, near Peterborough, from 1843–5, collected a more definite community round him, which took the name of the Society of St. Joseph, but its members followed him into the Catholic Church, and found their full religious formation there.

These attempts were followed by one or two others which came to nothing, mainly by serious-minded clergymen who saw the needs of the time. One of these is worthy of mention as the would-be founder, though thoroughly sincere and apparently a remarkable preacher, was rather a fantastic figure, and indeed could almost claim a place in the great procession of English eccentrics ; only those who know the Church of England from within fully realize what fascinating eccentrics that great institution can produce. This was the Revd. Joseph Leycester Lyne who, as far as I can discover, did not proceed beyond deacon's orders in the Church of England ; after a short period of work in Plymouth and the East End of London, he decided he would dedicate his life to monasticism. In this he took the advice of Dr. Pusey, who was his confessor, and in the East End he assumed a monk's habit and announced that he was now a member of the Order of St. Benedict, which he was about to revive in Britain ; he adopted the name of Father Ignatius. A contemporary newspaper thus referred to him :— " If you ask him who has called him to the Monastic life, he answers ' God '. Who gave him the habit ? himself. Who made him Abbot ? himself again. He is a self-constituted monk, a self-constituted Abbot." In

[1] A highly interesting account of life at Littlemore is given by Father Henry Tristram, of the Birmingham Oratory, in his article in *Newman and Littlemore* (The Salesian Fathers, Littlemore, Oxford, 1945).

1865, when Manning was in Rome resisting certain moves for reunion from the Anglican side which he did not believe to be entirely genuine, he was, as Sir Shane Leslie records, " unexpectedly aided by the arrival of the aforesaid Brother Ignatius, a parson wearing a Benedictine habit, and accompanied by a ' Sister ' of the same order, whom the Pope would have received more seriously if they had not brought a Benedictine baby, a child called ' the infant Samuel,' whom they had innocently adopted."[1] " Father Ignatius " was inhibited by the Anglican Bishop of Norwich, in whose diocese he had intended to make his foundation, and eventually built a miniature abbey at Llanthony, in the Black Mountains, but left no spiritual progeny behind him. The little abbey is now in Catholic hands, and was at one time occupied by Mr. Eric Gill, the sculptor.

But it was not to be all harlequinade. Three foundations were to follow, which have left a permanent mark on the Anglican body, but the final results of which remain to be seen ; these orders are popularly known as the Cowley, Kelham and Mirfield Fathers ; to the latter reference has already been made. These might all three be described as communities of preaching friars, but from the start the speciality of the Kelham Fathers has been the training of ordination candidates ; both they and the Mirfield Fathers are in charge of seminaries for training the secular clergy, though with the latter this came as a secondary consideration.

The founder of the Cowley Fathers was Father R. M. Benson (no relation, as far as I know, of Mgr. R. H. Benson), a rugged and highly ascetic character, perhaps not without a touch of Jansenism. He was the real pioneer in reviving the religious life for men in the Church of England, for he lacked the eccentricities of " Father Ignatius " or the transalpine tendency of Newman and Faber ; he might indeed have been the better for a little seasoning of transalpine levity. With two companions he started in a side-street in a rather dank Oxford suburb in 1865, but the Order has thriven and has spread to London and to Scotland, to India and South Africa, the United States and Canada, even to Japan. An interesting characteristic of their rule is that while they say the Office together in choir, their spirituality is entirely based on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius (one thinks of the Jesuits when the Office in choir was imposed on them by St. Pius V), and an edition of the Exercises, with a commentary by a member of the community, Father Longridge, is I believe regarded as a classic, and much used by the Jesuit Fathers.

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[1] Shane Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning, His Life and Labours,* (Burns Oates & Washbourne). A new and abbreviated edition of this work is being published by Clonmore & Reynolds.

Mirfield and Kelham are later foundations, belonging to the years 1891 and 1892 respectively ; the first is the child of the eminent Bishop Gore (whose writings exposed him to controversial fire from both flanks), while the latter had a founder of Irish name, Father H. H. Kelly, whose original aim was to form a society of missionaries for work in Korea. The Korea project did not mature owing to practical difficulties but the Society of the Sacred Mission which he established has prospered greatly, with four houses in South Africa and one in Australia ; the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield has also spread, with five houses in South Africa, and it now also has priories in London, Leeds and Cardiff. It would probably be true to say that the chief work of both these societies, after the recitation of the *Opus Dei*, is the training of students for the secular clergy, just as among our people that work is undertaken by the Vincentians and the Sulpicians ; in Britain they have two large colleges, which are run very much on the lines of Catholic seminaries, and in which a reasonably thorough training is given. This training is more thorough than that given in the other theological colleges, which is, one must own, far too short to be able to attain really satisfactory results ; in all of these there are serious shortcomings on the side of dogmatic and moral theology, which may account for the difficulty so many Anglican clergy experience when, in all sincerity, they try to appreciate the Catholic outlook.

There are, besides, one or two minor communities of men, including a more recent one which aims at following the Franciscan rule ; it is said to be doing well and to be attracting vocations among the younger generation. In India there is The Brotherhood of the Epiphany, which was founded from Oxford ; this undertakes a wide variety of tasks, ranging from missions and retreats to the care of lepers and the running of dispensaries. In America there are seven Anglican communities of men, two of which were founded from England, one by the Cowley Fathers and the other by the second harvest of Benedictines, of whom we shall now have something to say.

Though " Father Ignatius " died spiritually *sine progenie* (I do not know what eventually happened to the infant Samuel !), the Benedictine ideal did not die with him in the Anglican communion ; in 1895 one Aelred Carlyle, who had been for some years a member of a group of Anglican oblates, joined a like-minded friend in the London dock area, so that they might test together whether they had a vocation to the religious life, and five years later the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Temple, authorized him to make his monastic profession according to the Benedictine Rule. After various wanderings Carlyle went to the United States to seek Anglican ordination ; in England there had been considerable difficulty, as he had refused to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. He carried with him, however, letters from the Archbishop

of York, Dr. Maclagan, (his nascent community was at that time living at Painsthorpe, in Yorkshire), stating that on his return he would be received " as a clergyman in Colonial orders, but not as a priest ordained for the diocese of York," but which nevertheless showed approval of the ordination which was to take place. He was accompanied by another monk, and his arrival in the States was greeted with headlines in the newspapers, in one of which he was described as " a young man of very pleasing address . . . the reincarnation of the old-time *réligieuse* ; " on November 15th, 1903 he received Anglican orders from Bishop Grafton, of Fond-du-Lac, himself a Cowley Father.

The young Benedictine community eventually moved to the island of Caldey, near Tenby, where they built themselves an abbey, receiving much encouragement from the late Lord Halifax and a group of Anglo-Catholic laymen. A difference of opinion, however, broke out between themselves and their visitor, Dr. Gore, by now Bishop of Oxford ; both sides behaved with remarkable reasonableness and good temper. The questions involved do not come within the scope of this article, beyond stating that their completely Roman liturgical observance was held by Dr. Gore, with much right on his side, to be incompatible with loyalty to Anglican formularies and obligations. The upshot was that by Lent 1912 the monks of Caldey, and a convent of nuns on the mainland which was affiliated to them (these are now members of the English Congregation), were seriously considering the claims of the Holy See on their allegiance. In March 1913 the male and female communities were received into the Church by Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. The monks have since left Caldey, where the abbey has been taken over by Belgian Cistercians from Chimay, but they now have a thriving and beautiful abbey at Prinknash, near Gloucester, with priories at Farnborough in Hampshire and Pluscarden in Scotland—the latter with the ruins of a medieval monastery, which they are rebuilding.

Only two members of this community remained on in the Church of England, a professed monk and an oblate ; they moved to Pershore in Worcestershire, where the professed monk followed his confrères to Rome a year later, but the indomitable oblate, Father Denys Prideaux, a man of great but curiously uncoordinated learning, set out once again to build up an Anglican Benedictine community. It was an uphill fight, and at times he had to face much poverty and hardship, but he was successful ; in 1922 he made his monastic profession and was installed as Abbot, (he should have been Prior, for there were not enough monks to justify an abbacy). As his community grew a larger house was needed, and they moved to Nashdom in Buckinghamshire, to a large house which had become a white elephant. Of this abbey Mr. Peter Anson writes :— " The interpretation of the Benedictine Rule as carried out to-day has very little in common with the almost Cistercian observance of Caldey

before the submission of the community to the Holy See. In fact at Nashdom it is hard not to believe that one is not in a monastery of the French Congregation, for which Abbot Denys had such a great admiration (he died in 1934) and upon which he modelled his own community."[1]

A distinguished monk of Nashdom was the late Father Gregory Dix, the author of *The Shape of the Liturgy,* a work which has been much admired by Catholics ; before entering the monastery he was chaplain and fellow of Keble College, Oxford, where he was succeeded by Mr. Basil Butler, who is now Abbot of Downside ! The Nashdom community opened a house in America in 1939.

I have read in an Anglican newspaper that a house for purely contemplative monks has been opened in England during the last year —one wishes them every good fortune, but as they have been very reticent about themselves, one presumes they wish to be left in as much privacy as possible till they have found their feet. This is not the first time such an attempt has been made in the Anglican communion ; a similar one was made by one Father William Sirr, between the years 1918 and 1936, to start a monastery on Cistercian lines at Glasshampton, in a remote part of Worcestershire ; he had previously been a member of a small community of Anglican friars, the Society of the Divine Compassion,[2] which had charge, among other duties, of a home for lepers in Essex, where, as his biographer states, there " was work for sufferers of a kind whose existence is refused official acknowledgement in England." Here he was sent when he began to feel the call to a more strictly contemplative life. Shortly before Father William (as he was always called) went there, Mgr. Benson died, and it is of interest that he wrote to a friend :— " I felt Hugh Benson's death very much . . . But you know I met him at Vauxhall and he came to tea with me in my model-dwellings. I knew the best side of him—that which is revealed in *Richard Raynal, Solitary.* A man who could write that book alone must have penetrated deeply."[3]

After a further period of testing, part of which was spent with the Cowley Fathers at Oxford, he reached Glasshampton in August 1918, the building consisted of a derelict stables belonging to a house which had been burnt down ; the land had originally been monastic property, and Father William was delighted that it was returning to monastic use. He was able to convert these into a singularly attractive little monastery, with a plain whitewashed chapel, and a beautiful alabaster crucifix let into the wall above the altar. Here he remained till 1936,

[1] Peter Anson, *The Benedictines of Caldey,* (Catholic Book Club, 1939). Mr. Anson was a member of the original community. The account given in his book is most interesting, as is also that in *The Call of Caldey,* by Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1937).

[2] As an Anglican Mgr. Vernon Johnson was a member of this community.

[3] *William of Glasshampton, Friar, Monk, Solitary,* by Geoffrey Curtis, C.R. (S.P.C.K.). This account of a holy and most unusual character is well worth reading.

when his health broke down, and he was compelled to leave, dying the following year ; postulants came and postulants went, but nobody stayed—no doubt, as with Charles de Foucauld, for whom he had a special admiration, his rule was too hard for ordinary mortals. I paid him a short visit in 1927, I fear out of curiosity, but I came away with the impression of a great personality ; I shall always remember his friendliness, the artistry with which he had converted those stables into a monastery, and the fine tenor voice with which he sang office. I am glad to say the little monastery has now been taken over by the Anglican Franciscans, who are putting it to good use. It is suitable this should be so, for the place was reminiscent of some small Franciscan house in Italy.

With this I would end this brief account of one of the more remarkable offshoots of the Oxford Movement ; this revival has done much to bring fresh spiritual life into the Anglican communion, but there are also among those who have contributed to it scholars of note, Bishop Gore and Bishop Frere, the learned liturgiologist, Dr. Lionel Thornton, Gregory Dix, Gabriel Hebert, John Neville Figgis and Philip Waggett, to name but the most striking among them. Great preachers and writers have also come from the Anglican communities, Mgr. Benson and Mgr. Vernon Johnson, Father Maturin and Father Paul of Graymoor.[1] In the controversies which have agitated the Church of England the communities have supported the side of orthodoxy, and among them there have been gallant attempts to span the chasm of the last four hundred years ; from our side they surely deserve patient and sympathetic attention.

WICKLOW

[1] In this article I have mainly kept to events in Europe, but a biography of this remarkable man, by the Revd. David Gannon, S.A., has recently been published in America (The Macmillan Co. 1951).

The Modern Mephistopheles

Two contemporary German presentations of the devil

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ANY foreigner who comes into contact with modern German intellectual life cannot fail to be impressed by its preoccupation with fundamentals. While this interest does not necessarily imply a re-Christianization of German thought, there is, at any rate, a recognition of good and evil as absolutes rather than as mere philosophic formulae. It is not surprising that a country which has lost its illusions and known the bitterness of defeat should emphasize the negative rather than the positive. Evil is, unfortunately, all too plain to the modern European, while in a world of chaos, the attainment of good must often seem an escapist dream. Even those who have a positive faith see darkness rather than light : an over-developed sensibility has replaced the robust Christianity of an earlier generation. We now read Bernanos, Mauriac or Graham Greene rather than Chesterton or Belloc. If evil gets a better press than good even in England or France, how much more emphasized should we expect to find that tendency in the literature of modern Germany. It is, perhaps, true to say that there has always been something in the German mind which is at once fascinated and repelled by the mystery of evil : long before the recent catastrophe critics have been prone to equate the Germanic and the Faustian. Such an equation is far from being an insult, implying as it does endless curiosity and ceaseless striving, both excellent qualities if not pushed to extremes. It is only when man cries with Goethe's Faust : " I will enjoy in my inmost soul what has been allotted to *all mankind* " that Mephistopheles takes a hand in the game. In the immediate post-war period two German novelists of note have followed Goethe in portraying the devil as a flesh and blood character. These are Thomas Mann in his *Doktor Faustus*, a re-casting of the Faust legend, and Elisabeth Langässer in *Das unauslöschliche Siegel* (The Ineffaceable Seal) a story of grace and intercession. Both books appeared in 1947. Their monumental character cannot be ignored : not only are both extremely long but each passes from one plane of time to another, deals with a large and varied group of characters and paints differing scenes of social life on a broad canvas. The experienced stylist, Thomas Mann, with a lifetime of writing behind him can cope with technical difficulties infinitely better than the relatively inexperienced Langässer. Indeed, it is a tribute to its author's burning sincerity that the often fumbling and chaotic *Unauslöschliche Siegel* should have made such an instant appeal to the reader of German. There is something primal in the simplicity of Langässer's approach: she comes instantly to grips with realities, never mincing words and cutting through non-essentials with ruthless clear-sightedness. Part of the fascination of Mann's work, on the other hand is its complex technical brilliance. When this is joined with sincerity as in *Doktor Faustus* the result can hardly fail to be less than a masterpiece of modern German prose.

Beyond their choice of theme the two authors have little in common except their German nationality and their literary talent. Elisabeth Langässer (who has recently died) belonged to the *innere Emigration,* i.e. she was one of those who stayed in Germany from 1933–45 although hostile to the *régime* then in power. She suffered under National Socialism as cruelly as any emigrant: one of her daughters (now married in Sweden) was taken to a concentration camp and restored to her mother only in 1946. Thomas Mann's background is well known. Son of the patrician-burgher society of the Hansa town of Lübeck, a world which he described with love and irony in *Buddenbrooks,* he knew the comfortable pre-1914 world as well as the uncertainties of the Weimar republic (with which he identified himself as a sort of unofficial cultural ambassador) and the beginnings of the National Socialist *régime.* He left Germany of his own free will : but his wife was Jewish and his whole temper opposed to the movement which was in the ascendant at the time of his departure. The later attitude of the German authorities shows fairly clearly that he would have been forced in the long run to act as he did. Since leaving Germany he has lived in Czechoslovakia, America and, at the moment, Switzerland, a country nearest to his beginnings and whose liberal cosmopolitanism he has often praised. His habit of mind is ironic and detached, but surprising intensity is concealed beneath a cool exterior. One of his deepest feelings is his love for his country, a love which became agonzied during the second World War when he delivered propaganda speeches over the American radio, at the same time stressing his kinship with the land whose government he was attacking. The same tormented love is evident in Langässer's book : but she has in her religion—she writes as a believing Catholic—a prop and stay lacking to Mann, who has written admiringly of Christianity as a humanizing social force but who, apparently, does not accept its solution to the enigma of the world. Mann's " Joseph " cycle, a treatment of the biblical story of Joseph and his brothers is a *tour de force,* impressive in its learning and craftsmanship, but also a " secularization " of its religious theme. The biblical story is for him a graceful legend : " it did not happen " he states roundly in an essay on the Joseph books. And yet, in choosing the Faust theme, he is forced to come to grips with religion : at the end of the book the hero's mental overthrow is seen as a man of the middle ages might understand it—not only is the mind darkened, but the soul is lost.

Doktor Faustus appeared in 1947 and in the following year its author, who is prodigal with glimpses into his workshop, produced an account of how it came to be written (*Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus*). The accepted identification of Germany with Faust is here presented in a very different way from the urbane theorizing of scholars. Mann asks us to accept the fact that Germany itself has sold its soul to the devil, just as his modern Faust, the composer Adrian Leverkühn makes his pact with the " Stranger " who visits him in Italy. The book is the first person narrative of the amiable and fussy Zeitblom, Adrian's childhood friend, who, through his love for the composer, gains an unusual insight into the artist's mind. Zeitblom begins his narrative in 1943, three years after Adrian's death, when Germany is still at war but when the end is already in sight : he finishes it in April 1945 with the despairing

words " God be merciful to your poor souls, my friend and my fatherland." We are asked, then, to accept the book as a record for posterity written in a time of chaos : and this chaos of the War years forms a fitting parallel to the disorder in Adrian's soul. Just as Germany passed from hectic triumph to black despair, so Adrian makes his " pact ", composes his arrogant music and dies lonely and insane. Ostensibly writing between 1943–45, Zeitblom describes the years 1885–1940, the span of Adrian's life. This is a period which Mann knows well and his handling of the varying shifts of time and place, of Adrian's school and student life, of his passivity in World War I and above all of the terrifyingly soulless Munich society between the wars is masterly in its scope, realism and clarity. The civilization he describes is as over-refined and over-subtle as Adrian's own music. Yet one more " layer " of time adds its own peculiar atmosphere to the story. Adrian spends his formative years in the late mediaeval town of Kaisersaschern. This town is described by Mann in words already twice applied by him to his native Lübeck : its mediaevalism is one-sidedly, if not falsely conceived, with the emphasis on the scurrile and the hysterical. As Mann sees it, the outgoing Middle Ages, too, was a period of decay : an old way of life was dying, a new as yet powerless to be born. Wherever Adrian goes there also is Kaisersaschern : he never frees himself from its dangerous atmosphere. It colours his theological studies (from which, like Goethe's Faust, he gets little good) : one of his teachers is almost a re-incarnated Luther and his most successful compositions are the Düreresque " Apocalypsis cum figuris " and " Dr. Fausti Wehklag ". Mann even goes so far as to use the German of Luther's day at various places throughout the book, with the most telling effect in Adrian's conversation with the " Stranger " in Italy and in the final confession.

One of Adrian's lecturers in Halle is the *Privatdozent* Schleppfuss (Dragfoot) who, significantly, disappears from the university after the two semesters Adrian spends there. Disappears, at least, as *Privatdozent* : the " Stranger " who intervenes at a crucial period in Adrian's life looks disturbingly like him. Even if this ambiguous person is neither evil genius nor genius of evil, Adrian's imagination gives him a diabolic significance. The symbolism of the name is obvious : it even seems to the simple Zeitblom that the *Privatdozent does* drag his foot ! Both Adrian and Zeitblom are quick to discount the suspicion they never put into plain words : Zeitblom argues that the limp he attributes to Schleppfuss may have been inspired by his name, and Adrian, with uncharacteristic caution, adds the words " in my opinion " when describing the disturbing resemblance. This uncertain accuracy is, as it were, a defence against the idea that Schleppfuss can be anything but what he seems, a process of rationalization which Adrian carries further when he attempts to explain away the great conversation with the devil, the kernel of the book, as a fevered dream. Mann, in fact, with a characteristic avoidance of ultimates, never goes so far as to tell us that it *was* real, and many critics of the novel have seen it as purely subjective experience of Adrian's. It is hard to accept the devil in person ! The incident, be it dream or reality, takes place in Italy. Adrian is alone and his first intimation that his solitude is broken is an awareness of piercing cold, the atmosphere which the spirit of negation and hatred carries with him. " Someone " is sitting on the sofa : and only later is Adrian able

to collect himself sufficiently to describe him. Here we have neither mediaeval Satan, Milton's fallen angel, nor Goethe's worldly gallant, feather in cap and sword at side. Since Dostoievsky the devil has become " secularized ", banal, ordinary, even comic, were it not for a certain horror inseparable from his presentation. Adrian's visitor looks like a vulgar little *petit bourgeois*—cap pulled down over reddish hair, a tallow-like face, a plaid jacket, the sleeves of which are too short, and worn out shoes. He does not name himself openly, telling Adrian to use the half-humorous German nicknames and euphemisms. The gift he offers is the usual one of time—time which runs like sand through the hair-fine narrow opening in an hour glass—" only " he adds " the end is ours." The time he barters is a time of extremes : Adrian is to alternate between exaltation and melancholy, health and illness, but he *is* granted the boon of artistic achievement. Art is the devil's gift. " Do you believe " the " Stranger " asks Adrian " in such a thing as an *ingenium* which has nothing to do with hell ? *Non datur*. The artist is the brother of the criminal and the madman." Such a concept of the artist is Nietzschean, and, as Thomas Mann himself admits, Adrian Leverkühn is modelled to a large extent on Nietzsche. The dialogue we are considering has quotations from *Ecce Homo* and other incidents based on Nietzsche's life are mentioned in *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus*. Half way through the conversation the devil changes his outward form : he appears now as one of the lesser intelligentsia, a critic of art and music for the more popular papers, someone " who composes himself, as far as thinking will allow him to do so." Adrian asks the inevitable question—what is Hell like ? Here the father of lies does not lie but colours his answer with a subtle appeal to Adrian's intellectual pride. Hell is terrible. The common coinage of everyday speech is no fit vehicle to describe it. The horror is that everything ceases—every grace, every mercy, every consideration for others : that which seems incredible is done and done again through all eternity, merciless and measureless. Suffering is no longer ordinary but is pushed to extremes, and, says the devil to Adrian, this must please you. The other answers arrogantly " It pleases me." As his visitor points out, this Faustian urge for the absolute, this towering intellectual pride must bar the way to contrition, even to that sorrow which arises from the despairing knowledge of the magnitude of sin. Such a way of salvation would, the tempter suggests, be too naive for Adrian. The latter does not deny it : the sin by which the angels fell is the same as that which betrays genius into the hands of evil. Then comes the final moment of the visit : once more the devil changes shape and becomes this time like Schleppfuss. His visit, he tells Adrian, is only to confirm what has already been done. By an earlier sin Adrian has signed his pact : the " Stranger " merely adds the prohibition " Thou shalt not love." The scene ends with a reiteration of the conditions and Adrian, overcome by sudden disgust, almost faints, only to find his strange guest gone when he comes to himself again. The book runs its course on the lines sketched in the conversation. Adrian has his " time ", the twenty-four years during which he creates *avant-garde* music (for the devil had promised him fame in the future, not in the banal present), lives a solitary life and fails in all attempts to find communion with the world about him. He breaks the devil's prohibition and gives all his love to his little nephew, Echo, whom Mann certainly intended to be a type of

the conventional child angel : and the boy dies in agony in his uncle's home. Adrian's attempt to escape loneliness by marriage fails when a false friend betrays him : like Tschaikowsky he never sees his patroness, Frau von Tolna. In the end he makes a pitiful confession of guilt which the sophisticated audience invited to hear it do not at first take seriously and find disgusting when they do, and sinks into the complete isolation of the madness in which he dies.

If the sense of evil is strong in *Doktor Faustus* it is none the less so in Elisabeth Langässer's work. Like the " Visitor " in Thomas Mann's novel her devil is Protean, taking three forms—first that of the teacher Grandpierre (a name not without its reference to St. Peter) then that of the wine merchant, Tricheur and, finally, that of an unnamed sailor who murders a woman for a string of pearls. *Das unauslöschliche Siegel* has been compared to Dante's " Divine Comedy " and it has a similar epic breadth : its form, however, presents a difficulty for many readers. Like *Doktor Faustus* the book treats various planes of time : the bulk of the action takes place in 1914, but there are digressions to the years 1917 and 1925–6, a prophetic vision of the period between 1933–39 and an epilogue in 1943. What is more the hero, Lazarus Bellefontaine, disappears from the story for almost a whole book out of the three into which the novel is divided. Langässer does not handle her work with the technical skill of Thomas Mann : she puts the emphasis obviously on content rather than form and the book's clumsiness is one of its greatest defects. At the beginning, in a prologue not unreminiscent of the " Prologue in the theatre " in Goethe's *Faust*, the authoress foresees the difficulties which critic and reader will encounter when reading her novel. Vainly they will seek for Ariadne's thread to help them through the labyrinth. The reader, thus prepared for heaviness and length, finds the book, with all its faults, an achievement. Its appeal lies in the authoress's sincerity, in her honesty and in the importance of the theme with which she deals. This is nothing less than the age old struggle between good and evil, and Bellefontaine is important only because this struggle is played out in his soul. He is a Jew who has accepted baptism (the " ineffaceable seal " of the title) not from conviction, but because he wishes to marry a Christian, the pious Elisabeth. Alone in the world he has no orthodox family to be hurt by his step and tells himself that the little necessary water can do no harm. Once he has received the sacrament, however, he recognizes, since his soul is receptive to good, as, later, to evil, that he wants more than the " little water " : he yearns for the blind faith symbolized by a beggar sitting on the steps of the church and calling himself " John the Baptist " —one of those symbolical figures of whom Elisabeth Langässer, like Thomas Mann, is fond. The story opens seven years after Bellefontaine's baptism : the beggar, who has visited him on every anniversary, has not come that day : Bellefontaine is ready for other influences. Not yet a great sinner, he typifies the dreadful emptiness of modern man : his soul is swept and garnished and it is all too easy for seven devils to take the place of the first cast out. In the small town in which he lives Elisabeth Langässer introduces types of the various manifestations of evil in this century. There is the sceptic, the rationalist intellectual, the " round " of friends with their concentration on the things of this world. In all of these one feels a complete divorce from God and the things of God. They are all " little " people, knowing nothing of the Faustian

desire for universal experience : one almost wonders whether such people are worth saving. A fearful barrenness pervades their little world and Bellefontaine stands on the edge of this nothingness. It takes but little to make him become one of the sorry company. Attracted by the sanctity of the priest, Mathias, he yet fails to defend him when he hears him attacked and finally when asked : " Do you believe in the Godhead of Christ ? " he denies, like Peter, thus leaving the way free for the powers of darkness. The first manifestation of the devil has already taken place in his life. As a youth his father sent him to Orléans, where one of his teachers, Grandpierre, held out the temptation of sensuality. In vague dreams Bellefontaine identifies this Grandpierre with Tricheur, a wine merchant, whom he has not, as yet, met, but whom his wife, Elisabeth, describes as having something sensual about him. When they do meet, it transpires that teacher and wine merchant are, in fact, one and the same. " What am I to call you ? " Bellefontaine asks his newly recovered friend. That he is told, is not important : Tricheur will do : " and what if I have another name ? " Bellefontaine must return with him to France and renew old associations. To this temptation to leave home and family Bellefontaine yields. In France he marries bigamously a certain Suzette to whom we have been introduced in the intervening book from which Bellefontaine has been absent. The story ends with her murder by a nameless sailor, whom Bellefontaine, confronting him, calls Grandpierre. He escapes, leaving no trace, but Bellefontaine, too, has freed himself—or, rather has been set free, for he is passive, a tool to be used by Providence, a vehicle for the working of divine grace. The moment of his conversion (one must use the word) is accompanied by a thunderstorm : nature, which had seemed to be in the bondage of Satan, reasserts itself as accompaniment to an act of God. The reason for divine intervention is made quite clear. It comes about through the power of prayer—the prayers of Elisabeth, now dead, of Mathias, of the missionary Benoît, even through the merits of Saint Teresa of Lisieux, of Jean Benedict Labre and of Saint Bernardette, all of whose stories are woven into the fabric of the book. (The mere recital of this catalogue of saints gives the reader some idea of the magnitude of the task Elisabeth Langässer sets herself). Like another Lazarus, Bellefontaine is called by God and rises from the death of sin. To describe the process of conversion is a daring feat : by linking it with the elemental and natural Elisabeth Langässer makes us accept it for what it is —a spiritual resurrection, a state " between death and birth, or rather between destruction and rebirth." The world, in Langässer's view, is in thrall to the devil : indeed, the sense of evil in her book is so strong as to be, at times, almost unbearable : but it is saved by the few just men, by those who pray in loneliness.

In such a mediation of human souls one for the other Thomas Mann apparently does not believe : the end of his *Doktor Faustus,* then, must needs be pessimistic. Adrian ends in despair and madness : little Echo cannot intercede for him as Goethe lets Gretchen intercede for Faust and as Elisabeth, Mathias and Benoît pray for Bellefontaine. In *Das unauslöschliche Siegel* there is a strong sense of the communion of the Christian world : the individual belongs to a society greater than himself : and, while the devil is strong,—and his power is certainly not minimized in the book—God is stronger. This

is not to say that the story is one of facile optimism in which everything comes right in the end. Indeed, most critics have pointed out that the world of light is not given as much space as the world of darkness and it is certainly true that Elisabeth Langässer is obsessed by the malevolence which tries to entrap the souls of men. But, if her central character sometimes seems impotent against the tremendous forces which beset him, there is always a fight waged for him : he is important to God and devil, while Mann's Leverkühn, on the other hand, seems easily abandoned by God. In both books evil is stripped of any false radiance : we do not meet Milton's great prince of Hell, but a commonplace devil, all the more terrible since he is so insidiously like ourselves. In both books, also, he can change shape with ease, becoming all things to all men, but always cold and loveless. One thinks of Bernanos : *L' enfer, c'est de ne plus aimer.* Both victims of the devil are lonely, but Elisabeth Langässer also recognizes the dedicated loneliness of the good, of the priest Mathias, misunderstood and slandered, of the missionary in a strange land, far from the human love he has renounced, of Saint Teresa in Carmel, of Elisabeth Bellefontaine. Theirs is the loneliness of too much love, just as the loneliness which the devil imposes on Adrian is that of too little. Goethe's Mephisto, too, was incapable of understanding love, either human or divine, and it was through Gretchen, who is all love and who appeals to the love of God and of the *Mater gloriosa* that he was defeated. At the end of *Das unauslöschliche Siegel* Bellefontaine, like Gretchen, becomes a symbol of love and penance. We last see him, one of the many released from concentration camps, wandering through the North in the wake of the motorized divisions, " Father Lazarus ", a living legend, the beggar in Christ with nothing but his love and pity. He ends a spiritual victor, while Mann's book ends in spiritual defeat. The contrast is all the more poignant since the integrity and depth of feeling in *Doktor Faustus* are obvious. One of the most baseless and stupid accusations made against Thomas Mann is that of turning against his country in its hour of need : it would be equally unjust to condemn his attitude towards religion as cynical and superficial. Despite the often quoted passage at the end of *Doktor Faustus* about the hope that lies beyond despair, Mann sees no possible happy ending and is too honest to offer an easy solution in which he does not believe. Both his and Elisabeth Langässer's conclusions are hard won and, as such, demand respect : both are attempts to deal with fundamentals and to look evil in the face. The difference in the final interpretation is caused simply by the presence or absence of faith. Only those who, like Mann and Langässer, have known suffering and have felt for their country and generation have the right to speak to their disenchanted and disinherited contemporaries. Of the two Elisabeth Langässer's is the steadier and more compelling voice. Beyond and above evil she sees the directing Hand of God Who orders all things sweetly.

Pamela Reilly

Claudel : Poet of Love

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THE treatment of love in Claudel's dramas has given rise to discussion and to a considerable amount of misunderstanding.[1] The intensity of passion in for example guilty lovers like Mesa and Ysé, or unhappily separated lovers like Rodrigue and Prouhèze, the fact that such personages are represented as full of high aspirations, the sympathy with which their problems are treated, the solutions suggested, have seemed to cast doubt on the entire orthodoxy of Claudel's view of life.[2] It is quite evident of course that the poignancy of the human conflict is not the main subject of these dramas, but what of the manner of its resolution? This question must be considered in relation to Claudel's work as a whole, and we can get much light on it from his poems, and from the recently published volumes of his correspondence with André Suarès, Francis Jammes and Gabriel Frizeau.

A letter to Francis Jammes of 19th September 1905 is very significant. " I am writing a drama [i.e. *Partage de midi*] which is simply the story of my adventure somewhat adapted. I must write it, I have been possessed by it for years . . . On the other hand I ask myself whether a Christian ought to paint guilty passions . . . It is not the passions that I want to paint, but the *passion* of an unhappy soul."

The adventure referred to, the searing passion of the immediately preceding years, is often alluded to in the letters to Suarès, Jammes, Frizeau. Its memory wells up in spasms of distress in the *Odes*. It made the poet repulse the Muse who is Grace :

> Begone ! I turn desperately back to earth !
>
> . . .
>
> He who has eaten of earth keeps the taste of it between his teeth.
>
> . . .
>
> He who has loved a human soul, who was once compacted with the other living soul, is caught in it forever.
>
> . . .
>
> I hear a cry in the deep night !
> I hear my sister of the old darkness rise up to me once more. . .[3]

It prostrated him with a sense of utter helplessness :

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[1] Cf. *The Dublin Review*, First Quarter 1951, *Claudel and the Problem of Love*, by Ernest Beaumont ; with a *Postscript* by Jacques Madaule. But see also H.-Ch. Desroches O.P. *Paul Claudel Poète de l'Amour*, Éd. du Cerf, 1949.

[2] E. Beaumont formulates this dilemma which he conceives to represent Claudel's position : " If [lovers] marry, they will be completely happy, they will live for one another and find a total satisfaction in this exclusive possession. In order then that the exclusion of God be avoided, marriage must be prevented." (p. 35). And again (p. 40) " Sacramental marriage appears in Claudelian drama mainly as a deterrent to adultery. It is, to say the least of it, a negative view of the marriage sacrament."

[3] *Odes*, pp. 144, 145.

I possessed the forbidden thing. I knew that spring of thirst.
I wanted the soul, to grasp, to hold that water that knows not death !

. . .

O beloved, I am not a god,
And I cannot share my soul with thee and thou canst not take me and contain me and possess me.

. . .

And lo ! I lie alone on the brink of the torrent, face to earth.[1]

It appears even in 1911 in the *Chemin de la croix* as " That terrible love that we must tear out of our heart."
But in a moment of calmer retrospect he was able to see his sister of the old darkness transfigured into a leading towards true joy :

O my beloved ! O Muse in the ocean wind ! O flowing-haired symbol at the prow !

He read in her eyes a " resolve ", " an answer and a question ", a resolve and an answer to which he in turn must respond.[2]

The poem *Sainte Thérèse* in *Feuilles de saints* (1915) clearly gives us Claudel's view of such passionate love and its sublimation. The body, an *appareil de désir,* is substantially united to a soul that burns with an inextinguishable fire. This fire, " as long as we are nibbling at the old apple " has no accessible food. The majority of satisfied people cautiously damp it down. But others

have seen in human eyes as it were a passing flash of the eternal light—
On some real face a touch of the delight
Of what we dimly glimpse beyond the frontiers of life—
So that here below our pain is great and we die of distress and weariness. [3]

In them the fire flames up and unless the sacrament of marriage and the mystery of birth slowly melt two persons into deep unity, if they rise in arms against limitations and try to destroy each other so as to be one, the end is as the explosion of a powder-magazine. The real, all-embracing, necessary love, to which creation points, is, as the saints have seen, the love of God. For He is self-existent beauty, He is the source and origin of all the beauty of the universe :

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[1] *Ibid.,* pp. 68, 69.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 37.

[3] *Feuilles de saints,* p. 67. In the *Dublin Review* Postscript Jacques Madaule very aptly quotes a passage from the *Art poétique,* pp. 181, 182. The *Art poétique* was published in 1907, after the crisis and after Claudel's marriage. " Amid the bitterness of this human life, the keenest delights our nature can know are those experienced when two bodies unite to create a soul. Alas ! they are but the lowly image of that other embrace of substance by substance, when the soul, learning its true name [we must remember that the *name* is an epitome of the person] and the intention [God's intention] that it now fulfils, will offer itself in complete surrender . . . O my God, Thou hast shown Thy people hard things, Thou hast made us to drink of the wine of sorrow. What rape of empire or ruthless possession of a woman's body is comparable to that grip of the soul on God, as lime grips sand ; and what death (death our precious patrimony) permits us at last so perfect a holocaust, so generous a restitution, so loving a gift from child to Father ? "

If illusion has such charms, what will the reality be?
If what appears to exist is fair, what, O great God, will the really existent be?
If we so exult in the nightingale for a second and the rose,
What shall we say of Him who called them forth and caused them? . . .[1]

Only by a road of suffering and sacrifice however can human love find its climax in the love and attainment of God. The Jubilee Ode for Dante's sexcentenary, contemporary with the composition of the *Soulier de satin,* puts this in the fullest light. In an introductory discourse[2] Claudel quotes Lacordaire's saying that *il n'y a pas deux amours,* and comments: "The love of God in us appeals to the same faculty as the love of creatures, to the feeling that by ourselves we are not complete, and that the supreme Good in whom our reality will be attained (*en qui nous serons réalisés*) is, outside us, a person (*quelqu'un*)." God alone is that reality of which creatures are the image, and there will never be enough creatures to reflect His infinite plenitude.[3]

Love in our human life, he continues, is "the element placed essentially outside our power, unaccounted for (*gratuit*), independent, breaking most often as a profoundly disturbing element into our little personal world arranged by our mediocre reason." The disturbance is not however an isolated phenomenon; it is only one instance of the disorder which on a partial view seems to reign in the world; and withal there is "the secret of joy, praise, beatitude, which it is precisely the poet's task to reveal (*dégager*)."

The secret is unfolded to Dante by Beatrice. His love was sudden; their meeting

That marriage of a second in which thou didst take death and leave me solitude.[4]

But the joy she could perhaps have given him in this world would not have satisfied his quest for the ideal, her beauty would have suffered, been tarnished, by sharing in the lot of other things. Passing out of this world she awakened in him the sense of a higher beauty,—*Beatrice* implies *beatification.* Detachment from creatures is hard and painful:

So that heaven along with earth may enter into thee, so that God may find an entry,
Forgive, no other hand could have deepened
The wound I caused thee.

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[1] *Feuilles de saints,* pp. 71, 72.

[2] *Positions et propositions,* I, pp. 159 ff.

[3] See Dante *Ode,* p. 190. P. Dasroches, develops (pp. 68 ff.) the idea of things as the image of God with a reference to St. Thomas and a quotation from St. Augustine so beautiful that we copy him. "What do I love when I love Thee? not beauty of bodies, nor the fair harmony of time, nor the brightness of the light, so gladsome to our eyes, nor sweet melodies of varied songs, nor the fragrant smell of flowers, and ointments, and spices, not manna and honey, not limbs acceptable to embracements of flesh. None of these I love when I love my God; and yet I love a kind of light, and melody, and fragrance, and meat, and embracement when I love my God . . . And what is this? I asked the earth, and it answered me, 'I am not He' . . . I asked the sea and the deeps, and the living creeping things, and they answered, 'We are not thy God, seek above us'. I asked the moving air . . . I asked the heavens, sun, moon, stars . . . And I replied unto all the things which encompass the door of my flesh: 'Ye have told me of my God, that ye are not He; tell me something of Him'. And they cried out with a loud voice, 'He made us'. My questioning them was my thoughts on them; and their form of beauty gave the answer". (Confessions, ch. X, Pusey's translation).

[4] Dante *Ode,* p. 178.

God only is necessary . . .
the victory of God is thy portion.[1]

The idea often recurs in Claudel of a predestined affinity between souls who each have something to give to complete the other. It is quite clear that in his mind this is a special case of Catholic belief in Providence, that everything in our lives comes by the disposition or permission of the Wisdom that reaches from end to end mightily and orders all things sweetly.

Who started all that, asks God, that initial stumble? who provided that sort of lack and that secret void?
Lest My creature should exist of himself and do without Me who made him,
Who put that faintness in his heart in imitation of My weakness?
That defect, and that void in everything . . .
'I', says Wisdom.[2]

It is not a passionate lover like Rodrigue or Orian who speaks of "that convergence between us before we existed in the body",[3] but St. Louis, who has never for a moment doubted of the charge of France laid on him by heaven, of a love between them like that of husband and wife, but intended to rise and expand beyond all narrow and clinging self-interest.

Know in all their immensity the duty and demands of love!
. . .
There would not be . . .
that strangely certain turning to us out of all proportion with our worth and our power,
If the creature . . .
From the depth of its cause in God with us asked of us anything else than eternity.[4]

The kindred souls are to be each for the other a leading towards God—sometimes even on crooked ways. The Dante Ode says explicitly that the Creator
has put in each of us a little of his animating power
So that we may be not only useful but necessary to each other for ever.
He has put this power of doing good in us . . .
One soul serves us to be two.[5]

We must awaken the soul of the beloved, and make it thirst for eternity.

It is in this light that we have to interpret the dramas, and Claudel's creation of ardent spirits who do not reach their goal in the fusion of an ordinary life together. Dante and Beatrice, Rodrigue and Prouhèze, Mesa and Ysé, Orian and Pensée, are all to some extent foreshadowed by Coeuvre and Lala in *La Ville*. Coeuvre's love "does not rest in rest nor know any rest",[6] because he feels the driving force of a "vision"—he still has something of the insatiable nature of Tête d'Or; while Lala in her beauty is natural instinct in all its instability. Both differently, in the collapse and desolation of an

[1] *Feuilles de saints*, pp. 183, 189.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 191, 192.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 128: "*cette convention* (convergence, coming together, agreement) *entre nous antérieure à notre corps.*"
[4] *Ibid.* p. 127.
[5] *Feuilles de saints*, pp. 187, 188.
[6] *Théâtre*, Vol. II, p. 221.

after-Christian world, arrive at a truer sense of life. The poet rediscovers full Christian truth, reappears as bishop, and is able through his son Ivors to influence the destinies of the City. Lala turns to a personification of the ultimate function of woman's beauty :

> It is true that my hair is grey . . .
> But my beauty is still the same,
> And age as it touches me, dissipates the misunderstanding between me and those who follow me.
>
> . . .
>
> I am the promise that cannot be kept and in that is my grace,
> I am the sweetness of what is, with regret for what is not,
> I am truth with the face of error . . .
> Who listens to me is cured of rest for ever, and of the thought that he has found it.[1]

Each of the dramas poses a special case. *La Ville* (Second Version just quoted) is of 1897. *L'Échange,* of 1894, had turned on what we might almost call the ordinary problem of a married man whose character and temperament rebel against the limitations of his marriage vow. Orian, in *Le Père humilié,* feels like Coeuvre an inner driving force : the Pope's grave words, warning him against an ill-considered marriage, have a ready correspondence in his thought,[2] but passion overcomes him. In *L'Otage* it is lawful love that is sacrificed to a truly agonising higher call. But in *Partage de midi* and *Le Soulier de satin* we have in all its intensity the problem, the *passion* to borrow Claudel's word, of " love glamorous but impossible, irresistible but forbidden, just as totally asserted by human passion as it is totally denied by God's will."[3]

In *Partage* passion is expiated by acknowledgement of guilt, acceptance of the law through a marriage-consent *in extremis,* resignation to death. In *Le Soulier* it is purified by lifelong separation and suffering. The conflict in *L'Annonce faite à Marie* is of quite a different order.

We should notice, however, in *Le Soulier de satin*—the crowning drama of the series, the " point of arrival ", the " triumphal palm " after struggle, as Madaule calls it—an element of the first importance for the resolution of the conflict. Claudel has made the whole action to hang on two prayers : that of the dying Jesuit for his unquiet brother Rodrigue, and that of Prouhèze asking Our Lady to keep her from going into evil with other than a limping foot. We can now, since the publication of the *Correspondence* with Suarès, confront this element with some sentences from a letter of September, 1905. Claudel was trying to help his unhappy friend to throw off the yoke of passion. " I do not want to do you violence, I am suggesting a consolation by showing you that God is looking after you and does not withdraw His hand. . . . There is such paralysing strength in a woman's hand ! I, who knew what I knew, would not have been separated from that enemy by the sight of hell itself beneath my feet ! God had to intervene by an abrupt act (*coup de force*) ; it is true I had asked it of Him."

Now in all that, does Claudel, as has been suggested, underrate the value and sacredness of married love ? Do his more tormented characters represent

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 307, 308.
[2] *Le Père humilié,* pp. 115, 116.
[3] P. Desroches, *Op. cit.,* p. 7.

in his mind a nobler spiritual vocation? He denies it. Their torment is precisely a tribute to what the curé Badilon calls "a great sacrament",[1] the Pope "*une grande affaire*", and Orian "*de grands et incomparables liens*".[2] The great, incomparable marriage-bond has indeed, we read in a prose passage of 1910,[3] been grievously misrepresented, soiled, frivolously belittled, by the majority of nineteenth century writers. "None of them suspects that for love as for all other feelings the Christian religion came, not to destroy nature but to perfect it, to fulfil its secret purposes, to give it by grace a depth and an intensity of which in itself it is incapable. Love, the consent of two free persons to each other, is in God's eyes so great a thing that He has made it into a sacrament . . . a sacrament . . . producing perpetual effects, indissoluble but by death, cloistering us."—"The whole of life is not too long . . . for the study that two children of God have to make of each other in perfect community of goods and sacrifices."

In fact, this sense of the less spectacular life of lawful human love is evident in all Claudel's writing. Look at the poems. In *Magnificat* there is a moving reference to a parent's share in God's creative activity, in *La Maison fermée* to the fruitful enclosed life of the family ; in *Saint Martin* we get genre pictures of a father and a mother, in *L'Architecte* a glowing tribute to the lovable patriarchal head of a ramified family. The *Cantate* might be called a hymn to marriage : the three women represent the ecstatic joy of the fiancée, the devotion of the faithful wife to her exiled husband, the noble memory and spiritualised happiness of the widow who knows that she can never again suffer the pain of separation.

The dramas also in various ways show the same appreciation. In *l'Échange* Marthe upholds the tradition of Christian faithfulness[4]; in *L'Annonce* the tried affection of two old people has withstood all the vicissitudes of life. We can hardly adduce Dona Musique in *Le Soulier de satin* and her Viceroy of Naples as a case in point, for she is a symbol of charity and peace, the very incarnation of joy and hope, making soundless harmony about her,[5] almost creating the objects of her happy expectation. But there is the amusing, apparently "gratuitous", seventh scene of the Fourth Day, in which a travel-worn explorer comes home after ten years to find his fiancée faithfully waiting for him—an example of human affection fulfilled, explains Claudel somewhere. It illustrates his sub-title, *Le pire n'est pas toujours sûr.*

These instances prove sufficiently that unlawful and unhappy love is not glorified for itself, though ideal qualities of courage, growth, repentance, may be developed in the struggle against it.

MARY RYAN

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[1] *L'Otage*, p. 133. [2] *Le Père humilié*, pp. 107, 139.

[3] *Lettre sur Coventry Patmore ; Positions et Propositions*, II, p. 30.

[4] The recent, considerably developed version of *L'Échange* (*Mercure de France*, April—May—June 1952) does not alter this essential aspect : Marthe is called in the Preface "*la raison, la vertu, le salut, l'avenir symbolisé par cet enfant qu'elle porte dans son sein*".

[5] She was called Dona Musique
"Because of that guitar that she always carried and never played
And of those big believing eyes that she opened on you ready to drink in all wonders . . ."
(First Day, Sc. ii).
". . . all who look at me want to sing . . .
It is not we that make music, it is there . . ." (Third Day, Sc. i).

Battles Long Ago

by MATHIAS BODKIN, S.J.

THE reassessment of Belloc's work, his close study of the Williamite Wars and of James II in what is still the best biography of that monarch even though recent research has corrected it at points, coinciding with the publication of another volume of Sir Charles Petrie's large scale picture of the Stuart fortunes in decline make it natural for an Irish historian to examine again our judgments on some at least of the figures of that day, figures of whom time has perhaps in some cases made legendary heroes and in others quite obliterated their memory.[1]

In a full and balanced account of the career of so distinguished a soldier as Berwick his Irish campaigning must be a comparatively insignificant part of the record. He had already served his ' prentice years against the Turk under the good rule of the Duke of Lorraine, having as fellow officers such men as Taffe, Villars and Prince Eugene. Nevertheless he was still only twenty when he left this country for the last time. It was however natural that Sir Charles Petrie, President of the Military History Society of Ireland, should dwell on the episode of the Jacobite War, and though the story has of recent years been an oft-told tale, Irish readers may welcome a summary of the known facts and the judgments of two such interesting authorities as Berwick the contemporary, and Sir Charles the dispassionate modern. The latter is perhaps not quite fair to Patrick Sarsfield in accepting unconditionally Berwick's opinion of him " a man of great stature, utterly void of sense, very good natured, very brave." He thinks it specially well informed because the Marshal married Honora Burke, Sarsfield's widow, who ought presumably to have known. Does Number Two usually form a good judgement of Number One ? At the same time it is of interest that Berwick, who seems to have genuinely admired Sarsfield, thought that after the episode of Ballyneety he became vain and that Luttrell for his own ends encouraged him to be difficult to superiors. Berwick himself seems to have managed him well but the tragic cost of his failure to work happily under St. Ruth must always sadden Irishmen. Nothing however is said of Sarsfield's heroic disinterestedness, or the sale of his estate to raise troops. His devotion to James was single-minded, though as his brother William Sarsfield was Monmouth's brother-in-law he could more easily than most have had a foot in both camps. Berwick, himself loyal and chivalrous beyond the average, may yet have accepted a common but base judgement that such idealism as Sarsfield's showed him to have " no sense ".

It is pleasing on the other hand to note that Sir Charles does not fall into the error of nationalistic historians and denigrate Tyrconnell to brighten Sarsfield. The latter's part in the Boyne was, through no fault of his own,

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[1] *The Jacobite Movement*: The First Phase 1688/1716.
The Last Phase 1716/1807.
The Duke of Berwick and His Son.
The Marshal Duke of Berwick.
Sir Charles Petrie.
London : Eyre and Spotiswoode.

not brilliant. His cavalry contained Meinhart Schomberg's force at Rosnaree for a short time ; but though the contrary is often said, they did not apparently cover the main retreat. The first stragglers from the Boyne reached Dublin at five o'clock. James was in by midnight escorted by Sarsfield's Cavalry. In the early hours of the morning the French horse entered at a walking pace to sound of drum and trumpet. It was Tyrconnell, then an old man (he had fought in Cromwell's siege of Drogheda) who was hoisted into his saddle on the morning of that disastrous battle and led the only effective resistance offered to William, charging the Blue Guards as they emerged from the ford of the Boyne, and bearing back to his heroic wife the sabre wounds in the face which he received in those hot moments. It is therefore ungenerous to remember too well how, tired, ill and badly supported, he became in the last year of his life uncertain and vacillating in strategy and tactic.

An interesting topic of speculation is opened by an extract from Berwick's memoirs which records a proposal he made to Tyrconnell just before the first siege of Limerick was formed. Berwick was at the time in an almost independent command of the Irish cavalry with Sarsfield serving under him. Posted up river, their conventional duty, which they carried out effectively, was to prevent the complete containment of the city by William. Berwick however thought he could be put to better use. He wanted to take three thousand five hundred horse and carry out a full scale raid on William's entire communication system even to Dublin itself. To the objection of the difficulty of getting back he offered as a solution to turn north about. He had campaigned the previous year in Cavan and Fermanagh and would rely on his local knowledge to get through. Tyrconnell refused sanction to the plan, though he later approved Sarsfield's famous raid with its more limited objective. Berwick seems to have envisaged something more like Sheridan's Georgian campaign than a Stonewall Jackson raid of which Sarsfield's is the perfect classic example. He believed Tyrconnell refused it partly from jealousy because in his state of health he could not hope to lead the force himself, and the plan if successful would give all the glory of a victory over William to its leader. But Tyrconnell, he thought, had a further objection. He was essentially a professional soldier, " it did not suit with the dignity of Viceroy to become a partisan." So the Williamite war was fought as an affair of sieges and pitched battles. Ireland was to wait two full centuries before Michael Collins discovered the alternative and true road. Berwick later campaigning in Europe was to learn much of guerilla warfare from the Camisards of the Cevennes and the Miquelets of East Spain. Spain of Napoleonic times was to be the supreme example of the use of " partisan " and maquis which played such a part in the second world war and which had won us such freedom as we possess. Berwick in 1690 was young, dashing and open to ideas. One wonders did he or Sir Charles ever see or hear of the remarkable letter which " Galloper " Hogan, the Raparee, and outstanding guerilla leader, sent to his friend Sarsfield begging him to break up the large formations which could be easily brought to battle by the Williamite trained troops and their artillery, to put the Irish regiments he controlled " on their keeping," thus meeting the invader on ground of their own choosing. Sarsfield, by profession a guardsman and a loyal if grumbling member of James' court and counsels, could hardly

have been expected to accept such ideas, or even have much sympathy for them. Berwick's position and his grasp of military realities was different. It is a pity he succeeded to the supreme command in Limerick only when the cause was utterly lost and even Sarsfield had for the moment little fight left.

That hopes of renewing the struggle in Ireland soon revived is evidenced by a memorandum discovered among the papers of the Duke of Alba and Berwick. It is undated but was prepared while Berwick was still a young man and the Prince of Orange alive. It is in his own handwriting. The plans read with no more reality than those variations of operation Sea horse wherewith the Staff amused Hitler when his was Louis XIV's role. Yet there is an academic interest in seeing how a military genius tackled the problem that was to tease Hoche and Bonaparte and madden Tone. He stipulated for a large French force and calculated on the preoccupation of the Williamites. His profession removed him very far from any vision of Sinn Féin, but he knew Ireland well enough to expect whole-hearted support for his father. The military operations he anticipated were elaborate. Berwick was never afraid to divide his forces and make a maximum use of his strength, confident in his own skill in manoeuvre to concentrate in face of any attempt to deal with him piece-meal. In Ireland he advocated a landing in Cork Harbour and after a week to occupy that city and take Youghal by siege, a pincer attack on Dublin. One force was to move North, secure the line of the Shannon and turn East, the second was to take Duncannon, thus getting control of Waterford Harbour as a base. This he appears to have considered vital, but the fort was small and weakly held. Afterwards the force would advance on Dublin to synchronize with the approach from the East. The weakness of the plan as of all French military plans against Britain for so long was Berwick's under valuation of sea-power. He could indeed estimate and condemn the wasted opportunities of 1690 when for the last time France was in the ascendant afloat. But there is something almost shockingly amateurish in this expert in his own field in picking Cork in winter as the easiest place for a tip and run invasion from Brest.[1] He depended on good weather to set off the French expedition and at suitable intervals to supply it once landed. It was as well that France became less and less seriously interested in a Jacobite restoration. Berwick later had an invitation, even a summons from James II to go to Scotland to take the Supreme Command from Mar in '15, but as we have said he never saw Ireland again.

His sympathy with the Irish however was not in question. He incurred in fact criticism for his leanings in that direction and for alleged favouritism of Irish officers. Almost immediately on his arrival in France from Limerick he had been appointed Colonel of the First Troop of Royal Guards (the Maison de Roi) in the Irish Army James II commissioned. It had a brief existence, soon merging with the Brigade into the French Army and carrying Berwick with it not only to his baton but to a rather disastrous French citizenship. The Second Troop had had Sarsfield for its Colonel and in the first Berwick had names that were to be associated with another regiment of Irish

[1] It was from the same port Sir W. Churchill contemplated a possible raid on Ireland in October 1940.

Guards which by one of those crazy paradoxes that occur in Jacobite history was given in the army of the descendants of Elector George seniority standing, privileges and customs based on the precedence of James' Regiment. A Christopher Nugent was his First Lieutenant and Lord Trimbleston served as his ensign. Sir Terence Nugent held a command in the Irish Guards in World War I and Lord Trimbleston was a lieutenant in the same regiment.

There were other Irish links. Berwick's first wife was Honora Burke, a daughter of the house of Clanrickard, and widow of Sarsfield. In this way Sarsfield's only son, the young Earl of Lucan, served under him, with an almost filial claim. He had his step-father's affection and admiration tinged, as was Berwick's admiration for Sarsfield himself, by a certain impatience of the idealism that made the young man restless and home-sick for an Ireland he visited in peril of his life, and careless of the prospect of great advancement in Spain both from his own services at Barcelona and the Marshal's ponderous influence. Lucan's was a course of action Berwick could not approve of. A loyalist in every relation of family, politics and religion, the Marshal had yet a sufficiency of his famous uncle John Churchill's gift, to have, without a trace of dishonour, built up for himself and his heirs the position of a double-dyed Grandee. He is the only really successful Stuart and he shook his head sadly but affectionately over a young man with dreams who would not be bid.

Yet he was always at the service of the Wild Geese. Thus his first thought on hearing of the fall of a friendly Minister in Spain is that his successor will not be so kind to his poor Irish. They repaid him well. Though a French subject more loyal than a born Frenchman, he kept many Irish connections. His brother's widow married the famous General Dan O'Mahony, and the Hon. Arthur Dillon, a younger brother of the Williamite Viscount Dillon, made a name and fortune as one of the most brilliant Lieutenants of a man who was always generous in his praise of subordinates. Men of the Pale, Broughalls, Plunkets, Prestons, jostled in ranks of the armies he led with Cusack, Carrol, O'Brien and a gallant regimental staff sergeant Beitagh of the First Troop of the Guards. His letters are interspersed with references to a host of exiles, his knowledge of Irish conditions was probably more accurate than that of anyone at the court of St. Germain and his sympathy with his co-religionists never in doubt.

He remained a fighter to the end. Called from years of pleasant and welcome retirement at Fitzjames he was at sixty-two matched against Prince Eugene and commanding at the siege of Phillispburg in yet one more War of Succession, this time that of Poland. Riding out to reconnoitre a position he died as he had known St. Ruth to die, decapitated by a stray cannon ball. But his epitaph pronounced by his old friend and comrade-in-arms, Marshal Villars, an octogenarian still in command in Italy, could have been spoken of few men of his or any time and surely of none other connected with those old unhappy Jacobite wars and battles long ago. " This man ", said Villars, when the news reached his camp, " this man was always happy ". Perhaps he was doing no more than translate some phrases from the panygeric of Berwick, by an intimate friend and fellow worker. Montesqueue who was President of the Parlement of Bordeaux during the Marshal's Governorship of Guyenne, wrote of him—" He had a great fund of religion. No man ever

followed more strictly those laws of the Gospel which are most troublesome to men of the world. In a word no man ever practised religion so much, and talked so little of it . . . No man ever gave a brighter example of the contempt we ought to have for money. There was always a simplicity in his expenses . . . nevertheless he was always in arrears because . . . every . .. Irish family that was poor and had any sort of connection with any of his House had a right to be introduced to him . . . He left an affectionate wife . . . and children whose virtue speaks their father's panygeric better than I can." Irishmen then may surely keep a pleasant memory of one who though he took the side of an unhappy nation was not called by God to pay the price in tears.

MATHIAS BODKIN

Reviews

SACRED SCRIPTURE

DIE JOHANNESBRIEFE. By Rudolf Schnackenburg (*Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament.* General Editor ; Alfred Wikenhauser. Volume 13, No. 3). Freiburg : Herder. 1953. Pp. xx + 300.

MUCH modern religious thought does not start from within the Christian system to deny or distort some of its truths. It comes from outside, with principles fundamentally anti-Christian, to try to absorb Christianity into itself. Christian terms, symbols and doctrines are appropriated to propound a system destructive of Christianity, as when liberal Protestantism uses the language of the gospel to propose a merely natural ethic, or when existentialism uses it to urge a philosophy of personal " crisis " and " decision ". This attempt to empty the supreme revelation of its concrete historical content and to translate it into a merely inward process accessible of itself to purely human speculation and striving, does not much differ from the attitude of the first great speculative enemy of Christianity. Gnosticism was essentially an effort to detach salvation from an historical event and an historical mediator, and seek salvation through an immediate and independent knowledge and vision of God. The Joannine epistles challenge Gnosticism, ancient and modern, with the central Christian affirmation, that the experience of faith is accessible only in the Word of Life, Incarnate. This theme is enunciated in a majestic prologue which echoes the opening of the fourth gospel, and its development gives us some of the most sublime pages of New Testament theology.

The admirable commentary of Dr. Schnackenburg is worthy of its great subject. It is in the finest tradition of German Catholic scholarship, which had given proof of its qualities in the *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae* of the German Jesuits but lacked till now a full-scale exegetical series in German which could rank with the *Etudes Bibliques* of the French Dominicans and the great

German Protestant works of Meyer and Zahn. But whereas the French works too often gave the impression of pioneering apologetics, and the German lapsed too often into subjectivism and scepticism, the present commentary gives a calm, masterly and complete exegesis which must remain for long without rival. It is the first to appear in a series which will embrace the whole of the New Testament, thanks to the enterprise of Herder. If the high standard set by the present volume is maintained, as it surely will be under the editorship of Dr. Wikenhauser, biblical studies will be greatly furthered.

The commentary follows the powerful but sinuous course of the Joannine thought with rigorous precision and clarity. It is also notable for the skill and assurance with which the Joannine thought is brought into contrast and comparison with the religious world of its time. Every element of hellenism, oriental syncretism and gnosticism which has contributed to the development or expression or emphasis of the theology is evaluated with loyalty and detachment. Its Old Testament roots, its contacts with late Judaism, its relations with the common heritage of Christian preaching and with the fourth gospel in particular, are likewise displayed in their due proportions. Dr. Schnackenburg shows convincingly how the goal of Christian striving, summed up as " communion with God " dominates all the denunciations and warnings, the ethics and exhortation of the epistles. And while history and philology get their due, he is primarily intent on bringing out the theological content. His work will be indispensable in building up a complete biblical theology, to the edification of dogmatic theology no less than New Testament science. Twelve excursus handle special problems, such as the Joannine " immanence " formulas : God abiding in men, men abiding in God etc.—their mystical and ethical import. These excursus are not digressions, but extremely valuable syntheses, which cast light backwards as well as forwards when they occur. No problem raised by modern exegesis has been passed over, and one remains at the end with the feeling that justice has been done both to the demands of criticism and the needs of Catholic life.

The author's just fear of superficial comparisons, his refusal to solve problems of Joannine terminology the easy way, whether critical or conservative, has perhaps led him to neglect a little the most obvious source of Joannine thought, the Old Testament. In one case at least it seems to offer the key sought vainly in remoter contexts. Against C. H. Dodd, he rightly holds, with Catholic exegetes in general, that the chrism of I John 2 : 20ff is the Holy Spirit, to which the same functions are ascribed in the fourth gospel. But why the term " chrism " ? Is it not from the association of anointing and Holy Spirit in sacred history ? When Saul was anointed king, the Spirit came upon him and he prophesied ; Isaias spoke of the Messias as the spirit-bearer *par excellence* ; and the *locus classicus,* Is. 61. " The Spirit of the Lord was upon me, because He has anointed me ", certainly demands consideration. If it should prove fruitful, no more than a very slight shift of emphasis in certain derivations would be called for. The commentary is so comprehensive and objective that we can only offer our thanks to the German Catholics for giving the Church the benefit of their talents and resources.

KEVIN SMYTH

THE SOURCES OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS By the late Wilfred L. Knox, D.D., edited by H. Chadwick. Volume I. St. Mark. Pp. xi + 162. Cambridge University Press. 1953. 21s.

IT has long been recognized that the second gospel, for all its dependence on St. Peter, indeed, as a result of that dependence, reflects the standard form of apostolic preaching and not just the favourite reminiscences of the author's source. Dr. Knox's last work, while saying very little about St. Peter, attempts to group and classify the traditional elements which were combined into a gospel by the evangelist. He detects a Twelve-source which gives a general outline and a detailed Passion narrative, a disciples-source containing a variant Passion story, and some ten other originally independent " tracts "—groups of miracles etc. The main criterion of the Twelve-source is the description of the apostles as the twelve, rather than as disciples, and an interest in strict chronological sequence and individual actors. He insists that these sources, whether oral or written, came to Mark in definitely fixed form. The discrimination of these groups of "*fiches*" is argued with all the subtlety and liveliness which we expected from the author of *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem,* and the erudite footnotes comparing the use of sources by ancient historians are instructive.

The liveliness of the author's pen however carries him often beyond the bounds of dispassionate exposition. To call editorial bridge-passages " clumsy " need not give offence to anyone, while to speak of errors and exaggerations and inventions on the part of the evangelists will hardly shock the Anglican divines among whom Wilfred Knox held the dignity of Canon. But to speak of " slovenly editing " on the part of St. Luke, or of St. Mark's being " guilty of the grossest slovenliness " is to bring in a note of reproof which is either moral indignation or schoolmasterish severity, but out of place certainly.

Canon Knox makes his task very easy by rejecting all stylistic criterions of sources : St. Mark is supposed to have re-written everything so thoroughly that the original phraseology has been obliterated. This we are invited, in a rather off-hand way, to take for granted. Even so, is it not asking too much to assume that a desirable key-word, like " the twelve," has always remained like a rock, when the flood of Marcan mannerisms has carried away the rest of the original terms ? It seems that Knox wanted it both ways. When the style tells against his analysis, it is Marcan deposit ; when it is for him, it is bed-rock. And it is strange that St. Mark did not succeed in blending more smoothly the sources which he re-wrote so masterfully. Why should he have been " clumsy " and " slovenly " only when putting them in sequence ? We can only conclude that Knox has eliminated from consideration a primary factor, and that inconsistently. Secondly, it can be shown that Knox's allocation of matter to various sources is incorrect, even without appealing to style. There is structure and interest, to which Knox himself refers, and they provide as definite a proof as is possible in such argument. One instance, which could be multiplied, must serve as a pointer. The preaching at Capharnaum, Mk. 1 : 21ff is attributed to the twelve-source, but not the preaching at Nazareth, Mk. 6 : 1ff. But not only are the interests the same, even to the attention paid to individuals, but the passages are such perfect counterparts

in structure that they must have been modelled in the same work-shop. The structural parallelisms in St. Mark are so frequent and well-known that even manuals of " Introduction " speak of them, and one cannot easily explain why Knox has ignored them. Thirdly, the analysis seems built round a pre-conceived plan rather than deduced from the facts. St. Luke is called in to give the twelve-source some necessary coherence. But when he has " disciples " where the theory demands " the twelve ", we are told that St. Luke " might easily have changed the word by mere inadvertence " or that he might have inserted the sentence " on his own initiative ". The best comment on this procedure is provided by the author himself, p. 44n : " In the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy we find that as often as Joseph cut a piece too long or too short, Jesus stretched out his hand and made it the right length . . . *Non erat enim Josephus artis fabrilis admodum peritus* ".

One is forced reluctantly to suspect not merely the arbitrary but the tendentious when one finds such episodes as the raising of Jairus' daughter, the confession of Peter and the transfiguration excluded from the twelve-source, in spite of obvious affinities. And the suspicion becomes acute when the splitting of the Temple-cleansing into two episodes is attributed to this most favoured source, but not the similar division in the account of the withered fig-tree. Is an anti-petrine bias perhaps at work, and an effort to relegate miracles to secondary strata of tradition ? The author could hardly complain of our trying to read his mind when he himself claims such insight into the psychological processes of the evangelists. Thus when St. Matthew omits to mention the Herodians in a passage where St. Mark does, it is because they meant nothing to him and his readers. When he mentions them elsewhere, however, it is because he is mechanically copying St. Mark.

Can it be that the author's Anglicanism, which allows a certain honour at any rate to the episcopacy but has no place for the Papal primacy, has determined the honours paid to the twelve-source ? Twelve apostles of equal rank held the attention of the truly primitive Church, but Peter had no special privilege ? The suspicion, which grows as one reads the book, becomes almost a certainty at the end. Luke 22 : 31ff (the Lucan " primacy " text) occurs within matter allotted to the twelve-source. But, we are told, " it goes beyond anything in the authentic tradition in the pre-eminence it ascribes to Peter over the rest of the twelve " and therefore it loses caste—like the characteristically Petrine passages in St. Mark. We do not need the promised second volume to tell the result of the author's researches with regard to the primacy texts of St. Matthew and St. John. If Knox's approach to authentic tradition seems curiously naive, it is still more curious to find it put forward, with a rather sophisticated air, as an evident principle, p. 63 : " Naturally our view of the historical value of Peter's confession depends on our view of Jesus' messianic self-consciousness ". If facts are to be decided by our views and pre-suppositions, instead of by testimony, we should invite bookmakers to pay on the favourite without waiting to hear the result of the race.

Dr. Knox's book will be of value in showing the weaknesses of the two-sources theory of the Synoptics, and it contains many valid strictures on the method of Form-criticism. Its own thesis is too slightly and subjectively

based to be of great interest. But it casts a light on what some Anglicans think of the history and inspiration of the Bible, and so it may hasten the time when the Church Assembly may be able to give " a written statement of what are regarded as essentials " in the Anglican Church. This was recently said to be desirable by the assembled bishops, and the Archbishop of Canterbury thought that it would be a long time before the ecumenical movement would have the benefit of such a statement.

KEVIN SMYTH

PHILOSOPHY

KANT FOR EVERYMAN. By Willibald Klinke. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1952. P. 144. 12s. 6d.

Is it possible to present Kant—or any other great philosopher, for that matter —in tabloid form to the cultured reader without injustice to the one or the other, or to both alike? I doubt it. Certainly, Dr. Klinke has not succeeded in doing so. In his *Foreword* he tells us that his aim is to familiarize " a wider public with the ideas of this sometimes difficult philosopher, by presenting them in a more easily comprehensible form ". To describe Kant as " this sometimes difficult philosopher " might serve as a classical example of understatement, and in his effort to popularize him Dr. Klinke might have taken warning from the words of Kant himself, in the *Preface* to the first edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason :* " These (examples and illustrations) are necessary only from the popular point of view ; and this work can never be made suitable for popular consumption ".

The main pitfall for the popularizer of a philosophic system is a distorting over-simplification, with its false clarity, its doctrinal short-cuts and its almost inevitable omission—or, at best, superficial sketch—of background and influences. In the present instance, Dr. Klinke has not avoided this pitfall ; as a consequence, Kant and the reader suffer. Merely to tell us that Kant is not concerned with the psychological question " of the genesis of the idea or intuition of space in the course of intellectual development ", but that " in his critique of cognition, Kant is investigating the finished product ", is to leave the reader completely ignorant of Kant's method, while suggesting that the method was one of analysis of " the finished product ". It was nothing of the sort, of course. Ordinary logical analysis, according to Kant, is unsuitable to the resolution of the *critical* problem of knowledge, precisely because it supposes the object as already constituted. *His* method will be one of *transcendental analysis,* which investigates the constitutional building-up of the object, i.e. which tries to discover the intrinsic conditions of possibility of an object of thought as such.

Admittedly, it is no easy matter to give ' Everyman ' a short, clear and understandable account of the method of transcendental analysis ; without

it, however, he will be utterly at sea for even an elementary grasp of Kant's thought. Method and doctrine are interdependent. Dr. Klinke has attempted the impossible task of presenting, in fifty-two short pages, Kant's doctrine on knowledge, ethics, religion, politics and education. What is surprising is not that he should have failed but that he could ever have thought to succeed. The greatness and the weaknesses of Kant, the philosopher, must be sought elsewhere. And, perhaps, ' Everyman ' is incapable of appreciating one or the other.

It is a real pleasure to turn to the first half of the book, where Dr. Klinke gives a vivid picture of the long, uneventful life of the philosopher of Königsberg. We see the small, frail figure, hollow-chested and with deformed right shoulder ; the face clean-shaven, with high brow, lively eyes and wizened, elfin cheeks. We see, too, the bachelor dandy, in bright brown coat and frilled cravat, powdered wig and hair-bag and three-cornered hat, knickerbockers and silk stockings, (though we miss the homemade suspender-garters with their strain-relieving spring) buckled shoes and ribbon-embroidered sword. We listen to the thin, weak voice of the professor, who must have absolute silence in class if he is to be heard. We watch, and smile, as he fixes his eye, for concentration of thought, on the wasitcoat button of a student. We sit fascinated, as he lectures to us in a conversational tone, without notes, sometimes losing sight of the main subject in a wide digression and returning to it suddenly with a " In short, gentlemen ! ". We hope we are one of the mediocrities to whom he speaks, not one of the geniuses, whom he leaves to themselves, nor one of the dunces, whom he considers beyond the reach of intelligence. If we are among the privileged two to five invited to dinner—there is only enough cutlery for six—we shall have anecdotes with the soup and fish, discussion (non-philosophical) with the meat, and jests with the dessert. The meal will end at four o'clock sharp, when we may be allowed to accompany our host on his ' constitutional ' ; there will be no talking, however, and all breathing will be done through the nose—and the pace will be slow, lest the chill air or perspiration should undermine an already fragile health. On our return, we can sit while the master relaxes with the newspapers and light literature (Milton, Homer, Pope, Rousseau, but not Shakespeare), before giving himself to some metaphysical meditation by the stove until ten o'clock. And so to bed. We must be up by five o'clock in the morning, if we would begin another day with him.

These pages alone, on the life and character of Kant, make the book worth reading. Few, I imagine, will agree with the author's estimate of Kant as " a transcendent ethical personality " ; as few, perhaps, will know what he means by such an estimate. For me, at least, this is what emerges from Dr. Klinke's account : the picture of a sincere and passionate lover of truth ; of a man self-controlled, morally earnest, faithful to principle ; of an individualist emotionally hard and cold and, at bottom, incapable of recognizing God as necessary to man's progress towards perfection. The text is accompanied by illustrations, well chosen and excellently reproduced.

Joseph O'Mara

A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. Volume Three. Ockham to Suarez. By Frederick Copleston, S.J. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd. 1953. Pp. 479. 30s.

THE general division of this volume is apt : Fourteenth Century, Renaissance non-Scholastic philosophers, Renaissance Scholastic Philosophers. No one need be afraid that Father Copleston attaches too much importance to this division ; constantly throughout the volume he tries to soften the rigidity of divisions into periods and schools and general judgements on them, tracing of historical causes, and such useful paraphernalia of the historian.

The same plan is followed as in the previous volumes : a readable book rather than a schematic note-book, directly describing philosophers and only indirectly the history of ideas and doctrines, careful documentation from the works of each philosopher for each point of importance, disscussion of matters which are controverted or misinterpreted or otherwise of special interest, a short bibliography for each chapter. When one considers the number of philosophers treated the length and difficulty of their works, the diversity of their views, one is impressed by the amount of reading, summarizing and judging which the writing of the book involved, in spite of the help of previous summarizers ; and remembering the other two volumes, one is reminded of Suarez " in whom the whole School can be heard ". The Index of Names and Subjects at the end helps to supply for the absence of direct history of doctrines, for with it one can trace the development of various points from philosopher to philosopher ; one could indeed learn a good deal of philosophy by perseveringly looking up the references under : philosophy, metaphysics, esse, form, intellect, idea, moral obligation, law, Aristotle, God. Not that philosophy *is* history of philosophy, but that the history of a doctrine is a great help to bring out its meaning. The index also makes more accessible the excellent discussions scattered throughout the book. These discussions are good summaries of what were in many cases long controversies, with Father Copleston's judgment on them. Some of the discussions are of course inadequate, as is inevitable when one has to choose and abbreviate. Such is the discussion of Suarez' modes. Cajetan's analogy too seems bald and strange without a background. But Father Copleston's judgments on philosophers are very fair and balanced, for example his judgment on Eckhart. The bibliographies too are well chosen for their purpose, though (inevitably again) one notes the absence of a few works one would expect to find, like Conze on Suarez, Groener on Cajetan, Alcorta on Modes, and Rahner on Eckhart's sources in the Innsbruck *Zeitschrift*.

The period is bleak. The Scholastics in it give the impression of school or study as opposed to real life, like an army in a barrack ; while the Renaissance thinkers in it suggest prejudice, wilful ignorance, lack of sympathy ; no very great man relieves the bleakness. The period is also obscure. There is much research for historians to do in revising the accounts of previous historians about the philosophers of the period. Father Copleston presents the fruit of much recent research of this kind, not only in his long and excellent treatment of Ockham (six chapters), but in innumerable smaller details throughout the book. Indeed this may be one of the most important excellences of this book ;

in every chapter the average English reader will be amazed at the revision of judgments required of him by the evidence which Father Copleston presents. Two big departments of life, however, give rise to fresh and " real " philosophical speculation in this period ; law, especially international law, and experimental science. Both of these Father Copleston treats extensively and helpfully, clearing away misunderstandings (which are many), gathering the fruit of recent research, appreciating and judging the contributions of the different philosophers. The private student might well make these two sections his entrance into philosophy, using Father Copleston's index under the words Law and Science, trying to master the chapters on law and science, and following up some of the suggestions in the corresponding bibliographies afterwards ; because it is in these two departments of life that the deeper questions of philosophy were raised in men's minds in this period, and in some other periods too.

In this volume much light is thrown on the fundamental question : What is philosophy, or, more accurately, what knowledge is most worth having ? The cross-roads where men so often parted company with each other or with their former selves : the choice between search for knowledge of God and search for knowledge of other things, is well illustrated in the treatment of Francis Bacon, of the Speculative Mystics (particularly good summary of controversies and fair and balanced judgment), of Ockham as a theologian, of the Political philosophers, and is moreover summarized in the Introduction. If one were planning a course of philosophy to read or to teach, one would find here many suggestions about what matters ought to be included and how they could be dealt with and why. And as Aristotle, Father Copleston's earliest predecessor said : ' It is just that we should be grateful, not only to those with whose views we may agree, but also to those who have expressed more superficial views ; for these also contributed something by developing before us the powers of thought.'

Father Copleston promises us another volume which will bring us as far as Kant. It can scarcely be more difficult to write than the present volume. Its welcome is assured.

JOHN HYDE

HISTORY

THE WHITE MONKS. By Louis J. Lekai, Ph.D., S.O.Cist. Wisconsin : Cistercian Fathers, Our Lady of Spring Bank, Okauchee. 1953.

HERE in Ireland we are apt to assume that the monks whom we know so well at Mount Melleray and its daughter houses are the sole claimants to the title of Cistercian Fathers. But an important group of Cistercian monasteries survive in Central Europe, chiefly in the lands of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, which maintain the traditions of the Cistercian Order as they had been developed in the late Middle Ages, and as they existed before the reforms of the seventeenth century. Father Lekai, by birth a Hungarian and by education a graduate of the University of Buda Pest, belongs to this group of communities ; he has been resident in the United States since 1947, when those Hungarian

monks who succeeded in escaping the Communist persecution joined their fellow-monks at Spring Bank, the sole house of these Austro-Hungarian Cistercian monks in the United States. To-day he is an assistant professor of history in the Jesuit Canisius College at Buffalo, and he has written this history of his order as a guide to students of Cistercian history. It is indeed a most welcome and useful guide to a neglected chapter of Catholic monastic life. It is more accurate and more workmanlike than Father Ailbe Luddy's *Order of Citeaux* (Dublin, 1932) ; or than the *Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order* which Father Alberic Wulf, a monk of the great Trappist monastery of Gethsemani, published in America in 1944.

Father Lekai's book follows the same general lines as the *Compendium* of Father Wulf. In Part I he gives a brief survey of the whole history of the order, from the days of its first small beginnings under St. Stephen Harding, through the great period of expansion which was so largely due to the immense personal prestige in sanctity and miracles of St. Bernard, to the decline that set in throughout all Europe in the later Middle ages and the new life given to so many ancient abbeys by the various reforming movements of the seventeenth century. Here the story as told by Father Lekai differs radically from the story as told by any monk of the strict observance ; for he counts the older monasteries, which remained unaffected by the movement of reform, as the sole true survivors of the ancient Cistercian order, and speaks everywhere of the Trappist monks as a new foundation of the seventeenth century. So radical is he in this view that the statistical tables which he prints at the end of his volume are confined to the houses of the " Sacred Order of Citeaux " ; and make no mention, for example, of any of our four Irish monasteries or of the nine recent American foundations which have played so notable a part in the revival of monastic traditions in the New World.

None the less, there is much in this book which must be welcomed by all serious students of Cistercian history. The first part includes an interesting chapter on the impact of scholastic thought on Cistercian life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Saint Bernard was himself strongly opposed to such studies as bound to distract his monks from their austere vocation ; and it is a curious irony that the most influential house of studies in the order should have been " the house of St. Bernard " at Paris. In the second part of his book Father Lekai discusses such topics as Cistercian spirituality and learning, liturgy and art in the order, the organization of the order's temporal properties, the lay brotherhood and the Cistercian Sisters. At the end of the volume there is given, chapter by chapter, an excellent bibliography which includes works written both by the monks of Father Lekai's own observance and those written by the Cistercians of the strict observance. This bibliography is of special interest since Father Lekai's early training at Buda Pest has made him familiar with many German works which might easily have been overlooked by scholars from Western Europe. One curious anomaly may be noted, since it gives an unexpected link with Dublin. Father Denis Murphy, S.J., who was known in his day as an enthusiastic antiquarian, printed a translation of St. Stephen Harding's *Carta Caritatis* as an appendix to his edition of the *Triumphalia Sanctae Crucis* of Holy Cross Abbey. This English translation was printed by an Austrian monk of Mehrerau in the *Cistercienser-Chronik* (1899) ; and Father

Lekai reprints once more Father Murphy's English version of this famous text as an appendix to this volume.

Since Irish readers are not familiar with the distinction between the two Cistercian observances, it may be as well to note here that the Austrian abbey of Mehrerau (S.O.Cist.) publishes the *Cistercienser-Chronik* every month ; and that the *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis,* in which a valuable report on the Irish abbeys in the early thirteenth century was recently printed, is issued from the central house of this observance in Rome. On the other hand, the monks of the strict observance issue their *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* from Westmalle in Belgium ; and we owe the publication of the *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium* (which include much valuable information about the Irish houses in the medieval period) to Dom Joseph Canivez of the same strict observance. Students of monastic history are thus indebted to scholars of both observances for a wealth of new material, which has made it possible to present modern readers with a very much more accurate and balanced account of the origins and history of this famous religious order. Father Lekai prints a series of nine maps at the end of his volume which help the reader to understand the distribution of the Cistercian monasteries throughout western and central Europe in the Middle Ages, though they take no account of modern " Trappist " foundations ; and he has added thirty-two admirably chosen photographs of Cistercian buildings. Some of these illustrate the great period of early Cistercian fervour at houses such as Fontenay, Rievaulx and Fountains ; but many of them give views of the later Baroque architecture which was so characteristic of the wealthy Austro-Hungarian monasteries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

AUBREY GWYNN

KING GEORGE III AND THE POLITICIANS. By Richard Pares. Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. 214. 21s.

PROFESSOR PARES's Ford Lectures of 1951/2 are recognizably in the " post-Namier " tradition of 18th century studies but his purpose is to provide what might be described as a corollary to Sir Lewis Namier's great work. His book does not attempt to provide the local detail which made Namier so fascinating ; indeed, Professor Pares's discussion never takes us far from London, from Court, Cabinet or Parliament House. The great merit of the book is to place the reign in the wider perspective of developing constitutional history.

Vagueness of outline is the predominant feature of the political groupings of the period, as it must be of the present review. Professor Pares points out the fallacy of applying modern criteria of party politics to the political combinations of the 18th century. In George III's time the bases of political life were class, profession and monetary interest. These factors governed the choice of candidates for the House of Commons, the methods by which they were elected and the courses of action which they pursued when elected.

The personal character of the holder of the Crown was still a most important factor in politics and Professor Pares brings into ample relief the way in which George III's idiosyncracies affected the progress of Parliaments and Governments until madness began to overtake him in the late 1780's. The author

ascribes this madness to " the breakdown of a too costly struggle " to maintain an artificial character " deliberately created by a sense of duty in order to meet the needs of a constitutional monarchy." (p. 65). But George's nature had its advantages. His intellectual attainments compared favourably with those of his fast-living Whig opponents and even his uncompromising rigidity was occasionally profitable, as in wartime.

Control of the Cabinet was the main bone of contention between this stubborn man and the Whig families who had for so long monopolized Parliamentary power. The failure of Lord Bute to retain office marked the end of the King's attempt to break the Whig ascendancy by direct attack ; henceforth he was driven to work by indirect means. Professor Pares contends that the existence of the group known as " The King's Friends " is no contradiction of this ; they were actually remnants of the Bute faction and had no inseparable connection with the Crown's policy. After this George had to " govern through politicians or, as he originally called them, ' tools ' ", (p. 109) and the desertion of North in 1783 to coalesce with the King's *bête noire,* Charles James Fox, showed the drawbacks of this method. A useful chapter on the Cabinet shows the " modern " doctrine of joint Cabinet responsibility to the Commons emerging in embryo as a result of the long conflict in constitutional interpretation between Crown and ministers.

In a final chapter Professor Pares tries to isolate the factors in the period which paved the way for later reorganization of the constitutional framework. He singles out the Crown's decline in personal influence as the greatest single cause of change and illustrates his point by reference to details of this process. The rise of the cast-iron division between two " ideologically " divided parties and the gradual elimination of the " private " M.P., who owed no allegiance to any group, were natural consequences of the limitation of royal influence, with its function of acting as effective balance between rival factions.

This book is not easy reading. Its wealth of detail is sometimes bewildering ; many of Professor Pares's most telling points are, like those of Gibbon, in his footnotes. But at times the style is enlivened with an urbane irony well worthy of the 18th century, as the Ford Lecturer permits himself to smile.

JOHN B. MORRALL

PASCAL : His Life and Works. By Jean Mesnard. London. Harvill Press. 1952. Pp. xvi and 211. 18s.

IT is a hazardous undertaking to attempt a new picture of Pascal : the chances are that it will be either a composite presentation of former studies or else an original caricature. In the Pascal gallery is to be found every variety of portrait, from the life-size rendering in oils of Chevalier and Bishop to the tentative profile sketches of Suares, Laporte and Rauh. All, even the thinnest and most cursory, are studies in light and shade ; in all, the features of the sitter only faintly conceal those of the artist. There is no single canvas to which we can point with assurance and say : " This is Pascal ". And, perhaps, Pascal is too big for us, too many-sided, too versatile, too restive a model, too much each one of us, to be caught in authentic pose by any brush, however

genial. It may be that we must remain content with partial, and partisan, interpretations of the man, and console ourselves with the remark of Bernard Amoudru : *Etudier Pascal en autrui, c'est encore l'étudier, lui.*

Jean Mesnard's *Pascal* does much to support the above reflections. Written with ease, clarity and considerable insight—and excellently translated by G. S. Fraser—it remains just another interpretation of a great enigma. The chief merit of the work lies in this, that it arouses interest, sets the mind in search of clues, stimulates self-questioning and, not infrequently, raises the reader's hackles. A provocative as well as an informative book. Take, for instance, the chapter on *The Provincial Letters*. It has been said that " the mood of a generation is expressed by its religion ", and for no generation, perhaps, is the saying more amply justified than for that covered by the brief career of Pascal's thirty-nine years (1623–1662). Very wisely, then, M. Mesnard brings into prominent relief the religious issues and the religious figures of the day. The main issue was Jansenism ; the main figures, Saint-Cyran, Jansen, the Port Royalists and the Jesuits. The story has been told times without number, yet never twice in exactly the same way. The strands, political, theological and personal, upon which the historical facts are threaded, are interwoven with all the fluid complexity of lived events and human contrivances. It takes a steady, objective gaze to make anything like a coherent and balanced design emerge from the criss-cross tangle of action and motive. That there was much genuine holiness, much self-sacrificing sincerity of conviction among the members and friends of Port Royal is a fact not open to contradiction. As for the Jesuits, it is equally certain—human nature being what it is—that not all were entirely free of personal ambition, corporate pride, political leanings, laxist tendencies in the cure of consciences. And, indeed, M. Mesnard is not naive enough to present a neatly ordered, two-colour view—all rose and sombre grey. He knows as well as the next that amongst the " poor, banished children of Eve " it is seldom, if ever, that the sheep are clearly and conveniently discernible from the goats. But in his interpretation of Pascal's polemic he leans heavily towards the anti-Jesuit attitude. His account of the nature and scope of Jesuit ' casuistry ' is oddly superficial and biased in a man of such understanding. He might have found a salutary corrective to this view in Hilaire Belloc's article *An Analysis of the " Lettres Provinciales "* (*Studies,* Sept. 1920, p. 355–373), where one aspect of Pascal's controversial technique is drawn—and quartered. A few lines, taken from the beginning and end of this article, are worth quoting : " I do not think there has yet appeared a short and convenient analysis " of the specific accusations made in the Provincial Letters. " My object in what follows is to present the reader with such an analysis. It is a cold way of meeting such excellent writing, so much wit and fervour ; but it is a decisive one." Then follows the analysis. And here is the conclusion : " Let me summarise my analysis by way of conclusion. Of the thousands of Casuist decisions arrived at by a vast number of professors, regular and secular, Pascal chooses to speak only of the Jesuit decisions, as though theirs were the only ones, or at any rate the only blameworthy ones. Of the many thousand Jesuit decisions he selects what are in appearance even only 132, and in real numbers—if we exclude repetitions—only 89 . . . A just analysis leaves of the whole 132

exactly three points, one on Simony, one on the action of judges for a benefit, and one on Usury—all three of which are doubtful. This conclusion is dry and without savour. But it is exact."

But Pascal was more than a skilled controversialist, whether right or wrong ; he was a scientist, a writer of genius and a man of deep spirituality. To these aspects of his subject M. Mesnard devotes unequal but always intelligent attention. Of the scientist he tells us little. The incident of the ' cycloid ' competition is recounted briefly and with a fair show of impartiality : it is admitted that " some of Pascal's attitudes in this affair . . . lay him open to severe criticism " and, later, that " Pascal as a scientist could brook no contradiction ", that he " was never able, moreover, wholly to root out and destroy this natural arrogance." This judgment might well have been left unqualified ; it would have been just. Pascal came out of the affair badly. The author's attempt at attenuation has all the air of special pleading. M. Mesnard is at his best in his treatment of Pascal, the writer, and Pascal, the man of soul. Here, one feels, he is on his proper ground. Under his handling the book of the *Pensées* comes to life with all its strange transparency and urgency where the writing so perfectly transmits the mind and the purpose. In the *Pensées* writer and Christian, literature and apologetics, are merged ; from their fusion has issued the work of a writer of genius and of a soul under the spell of God. To have shown this is to have shown the essential Pascal. That he has done this is the measure of M. Mesnard's claim on our gratitude.

Mgr. Knox has written a foreword to the book and to him we leave the last word. " M. Mesnard's book ", he writes, " is a marvel of compression and lucidity. It is not to be expected that everybody will agree with al his conclusions. But two things emerge, fascinatingly, from the reading of it : the veiled figure of a man, and the clear-cut outlines of a problem ".

JOSEPH O'MARA

SPAIN RESURGENT. By Sir Robert Hodgson. London : Hutchinson. 1953. Pp. 260. 21s.

THE object of this book is perfectly straightforward, and it is stated bluntly by Lord Selborne in an introductory note. Nothing, he insists, could have been sillier than the attitude adopted towards Spain from 1945 to 1951 by the Labour Government of Britain and a considerable section of the British Press—and, for that matter, by other governments also, including that of the U.S.A. Britain, with the United States and France, had recognized the Nationalist Government in 1939, and their relations with it had gradually improved between 1939 to 1945 from an initial Spanish non-belligerency in the Axis favour through genuine neutrality to a final position of benevolent neutrality towards the Allies. This development is clearly recorded in Carlton Hayes's *Wartime Mission in Spain,* by far the best account of Allied contacts with the Franco regime during the war years. Why then the sudden *volte face* in 1946, that produced the U.N. Assembly resolution condemning that regime as a

" potential menace to world peace " and recommending the withdrawal of Ambassadors from Madrid ? The answer is, in the first place, the persistent *leyenda negra* about the Civil War, so cleverly and widely disseminated, and the spirit of an international *Frente Popular*, in which Western democratic and Eastern Communist countries were imagined to be capable of collaboration round the shores of Lake Success.

The Spanish Republicans lost the war in the field ; up to the present they have won it in the printing presses. They were inefficient with rifles but have proved most effective with their typewriters. Their forces in the end disbanded of themselves, after Casado had formed his National Council of Defence and rated the Negrin government as " that handful of men in whom nobody believes and whom no one trusts ", but their spokesmen have scattered to the ends of the world to retell the story of the war in their own favour and with their own phantasy.

Sir Robert Hodgson, who was the British " Agent " with the Franco headquarters from December, 1937, till March, 1939, first in Salamanca and later at Burgos, tells a direct, straightforward tale, without special pleading or adulation. Half of his book is given to the war, but he does not enter into great detail and does not analyse the different elements in the Republican camp, as does Richard Pattee in his more comprehensive work, *This is Spain*, which I reviewed in STUDIES early in 1952. The most interesting pages are those which give his impressions and judgments of leading men in the Nationalist movement, among them General Jordana, for whom he has a warm admiration, General Espinosa de los Monteros, Generals Kindelan, Varela and Yagüe, Señor Suñer and the Conde de Romanones. He shows appreciation of the kindness and courtesy accorded him, all the more marked because of the Nationalist resentment of the British attitude and of the heroic work achieved in difficult conditions by the Nationalist *Auxilio Social*. While quite clear in his opinions of the war, he remains detached and when needs be, critical. He is impressed by the violent diversity of opinion in the Republican counsels and the instability of its government and is convinced that the outcome of a Republican victory would have been a Communist Spain. He makes his own the well-known judgment of Dr. Gregorio Marañon, himself Republican and Liberal, that " if there were not a single Russian soldier or gun on the ' red ' side, it would be the same : ' Red ' Spain is spiritually Russian-Communist. On the Nationalist side, even if there were millions of Italians and Germans, the mind of the people, with its qualities or its defects, would be infinitely Spanish, more Spanish than ever ". (pp. 37–8).

Turning to the war years, 1939–45, the author admits the existence of an official sympathy with the Axis, despite the German-Russian Pact of August 23rd, 1939, and the German cruelties in Poland. This was not the result of gratitude for help received in the Civil War, for Spaniards believed that Italians and Germans had, in the main, intervened for their own purposes, and in any case had been well rewarded for their pains. Franco at times seriously miscalculated the situation, as is evident from the first interview he gave to Carlton Hayes, after the latter's arrival in Madrid. Yet German comments on the *Caudillo* were not favourable ; they found him slow and

unyielding, and certainly not receptive of their suggestions. Hitler declared he would rather have four front teeth extracted than go through once again his conversations at Hendaye with Franco. Von Stohrer, German Ambassador to Franco and, like Admiral Canaris, opposed to Spanish intervention on the Axis side, was highly amused at the notion that Franco would eat out of his hand. " In fact ", he told the author, " the damned fellow habitually does the exact opposite to what we suggest he should do, just to demonstrate his independence " (p. 82).

Franco has a measure of native Galician caution and reserve in his character, and it might be said of him, as it was of a famous Roman during the second Carthaginian War, that he saved his country *cunctando,* that is by his technique of delay. Various documents were discovered by the Americans in Germany, that purport to give the conditions set forth by Franco, on fulfilment of which he would actively intervene. Yet, were these conditions anything more than a clever manoeuvre, made with the foreknowledge that the Germans would never agree to them ? And therefore that he had never the slightest intention of so acting ? For the *cunctando* of Quintus Fabius Maximus we might easily read the *habil prudencia* of Francisco Franco. The fact is that, for all the talk in which the Spanish Press indulged against democracy and the Allies, the Spanish government did next to nothing that could be construed as unfavourable. And Mr. Churchill has himself paid tribute to the assistance given to the Allies in the North African campaign by the blind eye which the Spanish government turned in their direction.

With a long record of personal experience in the diplomatic service, Sir Robert considers in some detail the recent relations of Spain with the United States, Britain, Germany and Italy. His is a fair and an acute appraisal. The Americans, he judges, were more fortunate in their wartime Ambassador, Mr. Hayes, than were the British. He criticizes Sir Samuel Hoare's dramatization of his position, his claim that he was in a semi-occupied country, his exaggerated fears. Relations have improved since 1950, chiefly between Spain and the U.S.A., and the Conservative Government in London has a more realistic outlook.

What irritates the author and the Spanish people generally, as it should do any historically-minded observer is that Britain and other countries can maintain Ambassadors in Moscow and Warsaw and the like centres and be anxious for better relationship with Communist countries and yet could ostracize Spain and—this point should not be minimized—try to bring about a change of regime in Spain through pressure applied from outside. Sir Robert's book does not offer much that is new, except for his record of impressions and personal experiences. But it is a reasonably short, just and sensible study of a pressing problem, approached from the right angle and in the right spirit.

There is one small point early in the book with which Nationalist propaganda might have made some play. When the call came to General Franco to lead the National forces, he was found studying English, in order that he might pay a visit to Scotland to play golf. If only he had been built up as *El Caudillo—Sportsman !*

JOHN MURRAY

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

THE ECONOMICS OF SELLERS' COMPETITION. By Fritz Machlup. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press. Distributed in Great Britain by Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 582. 52s.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MONOPOLY. By Fritz Machlup. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press. Distributed in Great Britain by Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 544 45s.

In an appendix to Dr. Gunnar Myrdal's remarkable book *The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory,* which has now been translated into English, Mr. Paul Streeten remarks that many recent economic controversies have been conducted without much regard to their historical antecedents, notwithstanding their intentions and arguments which are often essentially repetitions of classical and neo-classical controversies. Professor Machlup is only indirectly concerned with controversy in these two massive books, but his subject receives a treatment which, although characteristically and distinctively his own, displays throughout a sense of historical perspective, of which the reader is given an explicit hint in a generous prefatory acknowledgment of the author's intellectual indebtedness to such precursors as Mrs. Joan Robinson and Professors Chamberlin and Knight.

Professor Machlup, who is, himself, a most eminent contributor to modern economic theory, is primarily concerned in these books with presenting an integrated pattern of the theory and practice of competition and monopoly in all their variants. A great number of detailed studies have been undertaken in these fields and the author has been closely associated with some of them. He now brings together from many sources the fruits of extensive and dispersed research and analysis, and he achieves what many will regard as the most penetrating and comprehensive modern exposition of his subject.

A certain amount of repetition might suggest that the two books should be considered independently of each other. But, as their author recognizes, repetition can be a most desirable virtue in a book which will inevitably be read in sections and which is intended to serve as a text-book. The intelligent reader will regard both books as providing an authoritative survey covering a very substantial part of economic studies. Professor Machlup's style is always relaxed, lucid and clear ; even the most esoteric theme is handled with a lightness of touch for which dissertations on less complex branches of economics are not always conspicuous. His method aims at providing a firm foundation for economic reasoning, and he recognizes throughout that even the most refined intellectual explorations of modern theory must lead eventually towards the realities of practical policies for business and government.

In both books there is a useful balance of theory and practice, but, as is evident from the title, the study of competition is the more theoretical. Nevertheless, while the survey of monopoly lays emphasis on the practical facts of business life it is illuminated and made intelligible at all stages by theoretical analysis. Neither book is intended for the " raw beginner in economics " unless, as the author says " he is very smart " ; nor indeed will the ordinary member of the public find the enlightenment he may expect from the titles

of the works, however rewarding the descriptive sections may be. But students who are generally conversant with economic principles will bless Professor Machlup for an achievement which will enable them to acquire a most thorough and profound understanding of a vitally important part of their studies.

Here, indeed, is the work of a great theorist who is able at once to apply theory to the affairs of the practical world. He demonstrates the value of descriptive economics to explain how the economic system operates and the necessity of theory to make the working of the system intelligible. He recognizes, too, the role of econometrics. At the outset, however, he explains that, despite the usefulness of mathematical arguments and geometric aids in economic analysis, he has aimed at confining his treatment within the limits of literary economics. In this, his approach resembles that of Marshall ; it was not that Marshall did not appreciate the value of mathematical methods, but he feared that mathematical models would omit too many variables and mislead the non-statistical reader. In an attempt to be " more scientific ", writes Professor Machlup, " people have tried to measure where there was nothing to measure, have slighted important studies where numerical relationships were not of the essence, and have promoted an excessive allocation of intellectual resources to ' measurement at all cost ' at the expense of other kinds of research and analysis."

" Measurement ", he states, " is sometimes believed to be independent of theory. Some others regard measurement as a prerequisite of theory. This reverses the true roles of the two. Measurement presupposes theory, although the latter may be primitive, should be tentative, and frequently is implicit rather than explicit." And finally, " Measurement is no substitution for good judgment, whereas good judgment may often do without measurement."

It will be evident, therefore, that while the subjects treated in these books may seem essentially " down to earth ", the author attaches much importance to methodological considerations. This is particularly apparent in his careful and respectful approach to terminological problems and in his insistence on precision of meaning when words in everyday use are employed in scientific discussion. He also addresses himself to the nature of economic neutrality and to the necessity for regarding pure theory as a point of departure for any intelligent assessment of the function of the economist. But the system he has constructed recognizes that the economist must live and work in a world of value-judgments from which he cannot escape, however anxious he may be to keep economical, ethical and political issues apart. He refers to the notion that the economist should merely present the list of probable effects to be expected from alternative policies and let the politicians choose from the list. " I have much sympathy," he adds, " with this view and with the demand that the economist in his professional work should maintain objectivity and not take sides. Yet I am not convinced that it can be done with full consistency. Perhaps complete freedom from value judgments in economics can be achieved if a great many things remain unsaid which ought to be said and which only an economist is qualified to say."

Professor Machlup's two books must be regarded as most important additions to the library of every serious student of economics and as offering

invaluable guidance to those concerned with the administration of public policy. They are, unfortunately, expensive—a defect that they share with the other notable and indispensable works on economics which have come from the United States in recent years.

PATRICK LYNCH

PROBLEMS OF CAPITAL FORMATION IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. By Ragnar Nurkse. Oxford : Basil Blackwell. 1953. Pp. 157. 15s. net.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT ON UNDER-DEVELOPED SOCIETIES. By S. Herbert Frankel. Oxford : Basil Blackwell. 1953. Pp. vii and 179. 15s. net.

THESE two books should be read because of the pressing importance of their subject-matter—the raising of living standards above the low subsistence level prevailing in most of the world—and they should be read together because they are complementary, a fact which the publishers have recognized by issuing them simultaneously.

The political and social urgency of the problem is emphasized by the unrest which is disturbing large areas of the world and threatens to prevent the evolution of orderly solutions. Professor Nurkse is concerned with the economic possibilities of escape from the vicious circle of a poverty which limits both the incentive to invest and the capacity to save. The solution is, in essence, the " diversion of a part of society's currently available resources to the purpose of increasing the stock of capital goods so as to make possible an expansion of consumable output in the future " and Professor Nurkse examines the conditions and implications with the clarity we would naturally expect from the author of that classic of monetary analysis—*International Monetary Experience* (League of Nations, 1944).

The backward countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and South-East Europe contain two-thirds of the human race and receive between them less than one-sixth of the world's income. Professor Frankel, who devotes a critical essay to the " Intercomparability of National Income Aggregates ", would be quick to question this comparative evaluation of the standards of societies with different concepts of welfare but the disparities are real and striking enough to merit the anxious thought and concerted remedial action both of the underdeveloped areas themselves and of the areas of greater economic advance. Of such action, the operations of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the " Point Four " programme, the United Nations' technical assistance schemes and the Colombo Plan represent welcome though slow beginnings.

Real incomes in undeveloped countries are so low that a demand for new goods and services scarcely exists and there is in consequence no inducement to provide them. The simultaneous development of a wide range of complementary forms of production would, however, enable them to provide a market for and thus support each other. In considering how such a " wave " of progress can be started, Professor Nurkse distinguishes between overpopulated and underpopulated areas. He sees in agricultural underemployment a

potential source of savings for capital development in overpopulated countries. If the same food output can be produced by a smaller labour force through consolidation of plots and better organisation, those released from the land can be set to work producing real capital in the form of irrigation works, roads, drains, etc. The subsistence fund for these capital-builders can be provided from voluntary saving (abstention from consumption by the farmers) or from involuntary saving, by which Professor Nurkse means saving enforced by the State through taxation to finance capital works. He instances the land tax which supported Japan's industrial development in the 19th century and the collective farms of present-day Russia, which are " collective " in two senses. But it is hard to see how forced saving of this kind could be made effective in primitive societies like those of Africa ; and in more advanced, democratic communities the political difficulties are formidable.

In sparsely populated areas, where there is no immediate surplus of labour in agriculture, capital for industry cannot be found until agricultural production has first been increased by a general improvement not only in organization but also in methods and yield—through mechanical cultivation, the use of fertilisers, better seeds, insecticides and so on. The most striking historical illustration of the potentialities is the introduction of the turnip in England in the early 18th century, which released manpower for the factories of the Industrial Revolution. A greater internal supply of resources for capital development may also be yielded to trading communities by an improvement in their terms of trade.

" Social overhead " capital must be formed by the community at the same time as directly productive capital is being built up by private and public enterprise. The provision of transport facilities, water, power and light, education, training, housing and hospitals is essential to orderly development with the minimum of social stress.

For poor communities, the task of lifting themselves by their own bootstraps is apt to be too slow and laborious. Professor Nurkse does well to emphasize the hindrance which the attraction of superior standards of consumption is to the accumulation in the poorer countries of the savings which are essential to their economic progress. Expansion secured by such expedients as tariff protection and restriction of luxury imports may stop short at the point at which former imports are replaced. In his discussion of foreign borrowing as an adjunct to domestic saving Professor Nurkse points out that the tendency of private foreign capitalists, from the 18th century to date, to shy away from industries catering for the local market and concentrate instead on primary production for export to advanced industrial centres is no " sinister conspiracy " but simply a reflection of the poverty of the local consumers. Where the local demand is large and growing, as it is in Canada to-day, and the profit margins are wider, foreign capital is attracted into industries catering for the home market. In any case, *direct* private investment is not the only source of foreign capital. The greater part of British capital expenditure abroad in the period 1870–1913 took the form of private investment in fixed-interest-bearing securities of railways and other public utilities. To the extent that there was default, there was a haphazard distribution of gift-capital, by contrast with the organized transfers effected in recent years by

Marshall Aid. Capital exports from the United States may now, indeed, be regarded in part as a substitute for the movement of people to the United States which, if it were not restricted by law, would take place in accordance with the classical principle of movement of factors of production to the point of highest return.

Professor Nurkse is careful to emphasize that machinery is not the only, and often not the most effective, form of capital, that capital even in its widest sense is not everything and that nothing matters so much as the quality of the people. The latest report of the International Bank puts the point as follows : " the availability of capital cannot, by itself, be expected to remove some of the most important obstacles to economic growth—the lack of traditions of political responsibility, the weakness of economic initiative, low standards of education and training and insufficient understanding that economic progress requires patience, effort and self-denial."

It is on the social aspects of the problem of capital formation in underdeveloped countries that Professor Frankel concentrates. A deep humanity and consciousness of social order and individual worth inform the nine essays collected in this volume. He is a forceful critic of the mechanistic concept of development—the idea that " capital can do anything, that it is only the lack of capital on the one hand, and of human volition on the other, which prevent human societies from converting a desert into an agricultural paradise." He sees economic growth as a slow, organic process which rests on the enterprise and effective cooperation of the many, rather than on " the exercise of wisdom, foresight and power by the few ". " Human beings ", he says, " are not a medium of artistic expression, except for tyrants " and in his trenchant articles in the *Times* in October, 1950 on the Groundnuts Scheme, reproduced here as Essay VIII, one of the attitudes which drew his strongest criticism was that " not only time but African man himself was regarded as an obstacle ".

Professor Frankel reinforces a point made by Professor Nurkse when he stresses that the poorer a country is the less capital (in the mechanical sense) it can afford, since large-scale mechanization requires not only attendant reserves of human skill but also " a vast and highly expensive economic framework of roads, railways, power stations and water supplies " and in areas far removed from urban industry, where production is concentrated on a very limited range of crops, these by themselves have to bear the whole of the indirect costs as well as the cost of renewing the machinery. Where labour is relatively plentiful it should be used, as far as possible, for capital-building in preference to costly machines.

As a South African, whose knowledge of African social and economic problems has been deepened by service on various missions of investigation, including the Tanganyika Groundnuts Working Party, and by appointment to the Royal Commission on land and population problems in East Africa, Professor Frankel is aware at first-hand of the evil of social disintegration—the " disease of uprootedness " as he calls it— of which many of us have been made conscious by Alan Paton's novels. To him capital is a means of providing resources to " support a society during a process of transition from one type of economic and social organisation and way of life to another." Capital is scarce the world over. It has to be continuously renewed and,

being highly expensive in itself, it cannot be expected to create income in the future unless it is used productively and integrated permanently into the economic and social structure. That structure itself must be adapted to receive it. It is no accident that in the past it was in the " empty " peripheral areas —Australia, New Zealand, the United States—that the most economic progress was achieved. These regions received migrations of peoples from Europe itself, " peoples with the same habit patterns of thought, the same symbolism of accounting, the same aptitudes and broadly the same conscious and unconscious social heritage." The task in Africa and elsewhere is virtually the creation of a new civilization.

Economic and social progress is not synonymous with industrialization. The limit to better or more intensive methods of agricultural production has not yet been reached in most countries and certainly not in Africa. With the example of South Africa before him Professor Frankel cannot overlook the dangers of over-rapid industrialization and consequent disruption of the indigenous agricultural economy. There are now as many people in towns in the Union as there were in the whole territory sixty years ago ; the total population has increased more than threefold ; and there has developed an economic structure based on " industrial caste ". " Productive power is circumscribed by race " and Africans in mining and industry have access to incomes which are only a minor fraction of those earned by Europeans. On the other hand, an overnight reversion to the conditions of sixty years ago —if such could be imagined—would result in mass starvation. Africa has become a problem of world statesmanship. Professor Frankel, indeed, seems to place his faith in international cooperative effort, such as that represented by the International Bank, which would proceed by objective standards and be independent of the haphazard interference of governmental or national political influences. The question is whether the time and the resources, physical and spiritual, will be granted for the emergence of new civliizations with high living standards in Africa and Asia.

These two books do not purport to supply a blueprint for the prosperity of underdeveloped countries but they adequately fulfil their purpose in furnishing the mental capital of thought and understanding without which progress can scarcely be made towards a successful and stable solution of the problem.

T. K. WHITAKER

MORALS AND MAN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By J. V. Langmead Casserly. London : Longmans. 1952. 12s. 6d.

THE RETREAT FROM CHRISTIANITY. By J. V. Langmead Casserly. London : Longmans. 1953. 12s. 6d.

SOCIETY AND SANITY. By F. J. Sheed. London : Sheed & Ward. 1953. 10s. 6d.

THE development of empirical methods and especially of mathematical techniques has given man a greater knowledge and control of the physical world. Hence it was but natural that social scientists should try to apply these methods to that part of nature called man's social behaviour. The use

of empirical methods of social observation and statistical methods of social calculation was further fostered by the demands of modern government and administration for more accurate knowledge and by the desire of social reformers to support their programmes with irrefutable facts. Consequently, we have today an abundance of social surveys, of accounts and comparisons of various civilizations and cultures. We know what is happening and to a lesser extent why it is happening. But these modern techniques do not tell whether these changes are good or bad. Modern sociology claims at the best ethical neutrality and at the worst ethical relativism.

In the first of the books under review, Dr. Casserly, a Protestant clergyman who is also a professor of sociology, asks the social scientist " not to close his mind to the possibility that sociological thought and research may itself at last confront him with some kind of sociological absolute, some indispensable *minima* of generally valid conditions of social health and stability which present themselves again and again in the course of his researches in one relative guise after another ". He asks the scientist to admit the possibility of an absolute morality. As a means to preparing this frame of mind, Dr. Casserly has written a most useful and unusual exposition and defence of Christian ethics. He is an ardent admirer of the Natural Law as developed by the great Scholastics and has little time for secular or non-religious ethics. He compares the Christian code with that of ancient Greece and Rome and shows how it alone can satisfy men of every social class and civilization. Many examples are given in which the findings of sociology seem to confirm the value of that code. In the second part of the book Dr. Casserly deals with the question of man's place in the social sciences. Is he to be considered merely as a part of nature, to be moulded and governed through these sciences or is he somebody who is also above nature and consequently to be served by science ? This part contains excellent material on humanism in science and on the importance of freedom and personality.

The Retreat from Christianity is more restricted in scope. It is an analysis of an aspect of English social development in the last 250 years. Dr. Casserly distinguishes two forms of departure from Christianity : the first is into irreligion, the second into some alternative form of religion. He argues that the first form of retreat is at an end. The second can either be an attempt to purify Christianity of its material elements or an attempt to fill the vacuum created by irreligion with superstitions and mythologies, the most terrible of which is the worship of the state. Dr. Casserly's remarks on the efforts to purify Christianity are not complimentary to the Revivalist movement in England. This portion of his work would form a good companion to Mgr. Knox's *Enthusiasm.*

In chapter six there is a most interesting analysis of the decline of the Church of England among the workers in the opening years of the nineteenth century. Briefly his thesis is that the workers were lost because little effort was made to supply churches for them in the rapidly growing towns. Dr. Casserly argues that the loss among the middle classes that took place later in the century was largely due to the fact that the new middle class of administrators and officials (as opposed to the property-owning middle class) was recruited almost exclusively from the working class. There are one or two passages in this book

that will not be acceptable to Catholics, e.g. the author's idea of the resurrection of the body (p. 24), and his objection to the definitions of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of Our Lady (p. 58). In spite of these points, however, this is a book that will cause everyone who is interested in religion to think.

Society and Sanity begins where Dr. Casserly's first work ends. Dr. Casserly defends Christian social principles in general and emphasizes in particular the uniqueness and importance of the individual man. Mr. Sheed begins with a philosophical study of man's nature and on that foundation discusses in detail Marriage and the Family ; Society and the State. His is a book of principles, yet for all that it is not dry and unpractical. Mr. Sheed's power of illustration and example shines from every page, from his description of sanity as " seeing what really *is* . . . If a man sees what is not—snakes crawling out of his wall paper—he is not sane " to his final " Hitler wanted and Stalin wants to create a new humanity. Christ came into the world to make a new humanity ". He too treats of Dr. Casserly's themes, Liberty, Equality, Personality.

KEVIN QUINN

THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH TRADE UNIONS. By Joseph Goldstein, Ph.D. London : Allen & Unwin. 1952. 25s.

THE MAKING OF A MORON. By Niall Brennan. London : Sheed & Ward. 1953. 10s. 6d.

THE title of Dr. Goldstein's book is misleading. It suggests that the author has studied the methods of government of a sufficiently large number of unions to form a cross-section of the British trade union movement ; in fact however he has confined his study to the Transport and General Workers Union. Although it is the largest British union, Dr. Goldstein says explicitly that he does not claim that it is representative of British unionism. These points are mentioned because some reviewers hailed the book as an exposé of the extent to which communism had penetrated into English trade unions. The account of communist infiltration fills a large part of the book, but it is confined to a study of the operation of one particular branch with a membership of 1,059. The mode of infiltration used in this branch conforms to that described by other writers such as Bob Darke. As the total membership of the union was 1,273,900 grouped in more than 4,000 branches, it is unwise to regard the author's findings as an indication of the extent of communist control. Recent Labour history would show that the T.G.W.U. is far from being under the control of communists.

The investigation of communist activity was merely incidental to the author's main purpose. He began his researches with the assumption that trade unions are the modern substitute for the medieval system of apprenticeship as a means of teaching men " Social Skill " i.e. " a capacity to receive communication from others, and to respond to the attitudes and ideas of others in such a fashion as to promote congenial participation in a common task ". To put it in simpler words, he considered that trade unions were the means by which the individual worker felt himself to be of personal value in modern

industrial society, through the union he was taken into consideration, consulted and respected. The T.G.W.U. seemed to offer good material for such a study in social skill. Its constitution was truly democratic, all power lay ultimately in the local branches, that part of the union with which the individual worker was in close contact.

That was the theory. The reality was far different. Of the 1,275,000 members 4 out of every 5 were ineligible to stand as candidates or apply for any office paid or unpaid in their union. Although 93 per cent of the members were eligible to vote in union elections, 8 out of 10 eligible members did not vote. There are many reasons for this failure of the written constitution to be a living reality. Some of these reasons are peculiar to the T.G.W.U. ; others are universal in trade unionism and are summed up in the subtitle of the book " A Study of Apathy ".

One cannot help asking oneself : how far do the conditions described in this book apply to Irish unions ? are Irish workers apathetic in taking part in their union affairs ? if they are what is one to say to some unions' claim to a share in management ? does recent English experience show that if the trade unions take part in management they are considered by the workers as being merely the successors of the capitalist owners and not as the representatives of the workers ?

Mr. Brennan's book provides at least a large part of the reason for workers' apathy. It comes from the nature of their working conditions, from the very nature of much factory work. This book owes its existence to a happening of the 1914/18 war, when a number of mental defectives were drafted as an experiment into industry and there proved themselves not only more easily disciplined and more content with their mechanized tasks but on the whole more efficient than the normal men and women they replaced. Mr. Brennan began to wonder what the effect must be on normal men of work done so well by defectives. To find out he took a number of jobs in factories and mills in England and Australia. The experiment was carried out under a rigorous condition :— " I have never had any job in which I was not, in some degree, dependent on the pay envelope. The jobs I had in England were always my sole means of livelihood. I mention that because unless the importance of the pay envelope in the worker's scheme of life is fully understood, no observation of working conditions is worth anything ".

Mr. Brennan's findings were that much modern work kills all humanity in man and leads him to revolt through strikes, absenteeism, inferior production etc. But the effects were in no way dependent on the physical labour or the monotony involved. If the work were a challenge to the ability of man, he was satisfied and at peace. But if it called for only part of the man's abilities then it stultified him. Mr. Brennan's experience was that most factory work calls for only part of a man's capabilities. Unfortunately, in attacking " respectable and comfortable jobs " Mr. Brennan overstates his case. He considers white collar jobs unproductive and wants a return to the simplicity of former times. But while one may disagree with the remedies he proposes for the evils of industrial life, one cannot but be grateful to him for showing how and why they often arise.

KEVIN QUINN

LITERATURE

W. B. YEATS. Letters to Katharine Tynan. Edited by Roger McHugh. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1953. 18s.

W. B. YEATS AND T. STURGE MOORE. Their correspondence 1901/37. Edited by Ursula Bridge. London : Routledge and Kegan. 1953. 20s.

ON finishing the first of these two books I took down Keats' letters to compare the impressions the volumes give of the great Irish poet, young, and the Cockney genius. It is as if one were seeking to compare a rose bush and a young oak. Yeats, slow-growing, firmly planted, putting out occasional shoots of promise : Keats already mature and luxurious. The comparison is unfair to Yeats.

For here we meet a gangling Yeats, poor, proud, dogmatic, boyish ; conscientious and painfully aware of money, or the lack of it, (he never hid behind ' artistic temperament ' where work or money were concerned)—a visionary, hammering out his dreams slowly and falteringly in words ; fumbling, but always sincere, dedicated—inexpert but not an amateur. Towards his correspondent (who graduated from " Miss Tynan " to " Katey ") his manner is that of brotherly affection. He over-praises her work (despite the fact that she was doing her best work then), tells her " Now that Christina Rossetti is dead, you have no woman rival ". That Yeats " seriously thought of proposing to her ", as Dr. McHugh avers, is supported by his lack of candour when Maud Gonne enters the story. (" I think she is very good-looking and that is all I think about her "). The instinct to deprecate to others the object of sudden attraction is universal in men and women.

Yeats' gravity of manner makes amusing by contrast his very human taste for gossip : nor did he miss the fun to be got from observing people. He had that quick sense of character which clever women have, and men of ability are so often without.

To the mundane his frequent protestations of exhaustion may seem out of proportion to the scope of his labour ; but the exhaustion was emotional : poetry is not easily brought to life. In one place he says : " a long poem is like a fever ". And, in another letter : " I am one of those unhappy people for whom between act and deed lies ever the terrible gulf of dreams. I sit down to write and go off into a brown study instead ". Substituting the word ' thought ' for ' act ' (without which the passage is meaningless) one catches the brooding quality of Yeats' thought, a quality which gives so rich a texture to his prose. In later years Dubliners often saw him, sitting beside Mrs. Yeats, in a tram, his great head of blue-white hair bent down, murmuring incessantly, oblivious apparently to all the world. (Mrs. Yeats handed the fares to the conductor). Many seeing him thus, sneered at his ' pose ', but they were wrong. Posing in the cheap sense, he never was ; but he had created in his imagination a picture of the poet up to which he lived. With the passage of time the picture became ever more elaborate.

Miss Tynan was given snapshots of the famous people Yeats encountered : Healy in the House of Commons (1887) " made a rugged, passionate speech, the most human thing I heard ". Bernard Shaw (at William Morris's) " is certainly very witty. But, like most people who have wit rather than humour, his mind is maybe something wanting in depth. However, his stories are good, they say ". Morris he liked " greatly, though I find much in his

philosophy of life altogether alien ". Oscar Wilde is often mentioned, usually in connection with some good-natured action. Of the man or his work Yeats utters no criticism. He uses Wilde's name to drag in a story. " Have you heard Oscar's last good thing ? He says that Sharp's motto should be Acutus descensus Averni (sharp is the descent into Hell). This phrase, as you know, begins in the orthodox way Facilis (easy) ".

Yeats' solemn refusal to face his ignorance of Greek and Latin got him into intellectual scrapes more than once. His pedantry was *pose*.

How he improved in his craft is revealed by the first drafts of *Innisfree* and *When you are old*. The verses written for the *Girls' Own Paper*, and confided to his correspondent, were very properly consigned to the oblivion from which the poet would, I feel sure, have thanked his editor not to rescue them. His early inspiration came from Co. Sligo, from his boyhood remembrance. Writing from there on 13 August, 1887, he reveals the seeds of his first famous poem : " It is a wonderfully beautiful day. The air is full of trembling light. The very feel of the familiar Sligo earth puts me in good spirits. I should like to live here always . . ." A year later he sends the first version of *Innisfree* to Katharine Tynan, describing it as an extension " of an old day dream of my own ".

London, to which he paid happy visits as an older man, and a celebrity—enjoying particularly the company of younger writers in the Athenaeum—was depressing to his youthful spirits. He did not think " I shall ever find London very tolerable. It can give me nothing ; I am not fond of the theatre, literary society bores me, I loathe crowds and was very content with Dublin, though even that was a little too populous."

London gave him influence, recognition and the first opportunity to build his great reputation : his conversion to the theatre was not very long delayed,

We get pleasant glimpses in these letters of the Yeats family—poor, busy. under-paid, affectionate and united ; each pursuing his own talent : over it presided the most remarkable of fathers.

The omnipresence of so opinionated a parent may at times have been a trial to the vague, self-communings of the young genius ; but what a rare experience to have a father, so strong in his sense of true values that even when he was poor and distracted by money worry, he could see " all kinds of injury " to his son in regular work. (" It makes him quite sad "). It is impossible not to love the old man when the son writes : " I am very anxious about this search for regular work. Neither I nor Papa know well how to set about it. But I imagine Mr. Bale will help us." What a happy name—Mr. Bale ! How useful, when it comes to the point, are these the Marthas of existence. But them we have always with us. The Yeats family, in particular the father and two sons, we have only had once. They had dignity by nature : they won honour, and found fame, for themselves and for their country. We all stand in their debt. So that it is good to see an Irish publishing house has produced this book. They have deserved the honour for it is well done. The illustrations are happily chosen, although it was a pity not to have included the Yeats' portrait of Katharine Tynan.

Dr. McHugh has as good reason to be proud of his work as he has to be pleased with his good fortune to be the first to harvest this golden crop.

Yeats has such a following that some success is guaranteed to the second book listed above. But the letters are disappointing. Their most attractive feature is the evidence they give of considerate friendship and mutual respect over such a long period. The friendship was, however, if the letters are not misleading, of a rather cerebral kind. Neither poet ever let his hair down for the benefit of the other. They reveal what seems to me at least a lovable but rather boring side to Yeats. He was innocently overawed by the sort of learning which his own education had not imparted. Philosophy and the Classics were on such a pedestal in his esteem that he found it impossible to imagine that a poet of his distinction destined " to dine at journey's end with Landor and with Donne " could possibly go to that particular heaven without a knowledge of classics and philosophy. In these letters Yeats keeps on putting forward his philosophical theories and criticisms to Moore (a brother of Professor George Moore, the eminent Cambridge philosopher). Moore, who had a more tidy mind than Yeats' continually pointed out that the latter was contradicting himself, or missing the point, or writing nonsense. Yeats carried on unperturbed. It all began when Yeats started a discussion on an apparition of a cat which Ruskin saw and tried to put out of the window. Ruskin's cat became King Charles' head for Yeats. Moore is always gentle, always ready to explain. At times he must have wished that his eminent friend would discuss more homely topics.

His replies are pickled with such observations as : " You don't seem to follow or answer Russell's argument ", " You seem to have gone back to your original position which you had admitted untenable ", " Your deduction from Russell's argument is I think obviously mistaken ".

There are references to Rossetti—" he was a lousy beast " ; but of most interest to modern readers are the letters discussing membership of The Academic Committee of English Letters. Yeats was " strongly for Belloc ", and " Doughty I know nothing of ". " When a man is so outrageously in the wrong as Shaw he is indispensable ". Yeats also wanted Wilfrid Blunt— " only a small part of his work is good but that is exceedingly fine ".

Moore was anti-Belloc. " I doubt whether Belloc has any French instincts left, certainly no academical ones ". He, too, was ' strongly for Shaw . . . The only known genius among living writers ' (1911). In a P.S. he adds " I think young Forster should be nominated ; he at least has always tried for literature and nothing but literature ".

Moore was a percipient literary critic, but his salute to the Nazi party " chiefly students and young intellectuals " showed a defective political sense.

Yeats had a way of dropping casual pieces of brilliant criticism : " Wilde was not a poet but a wit and critic and could not endure his limitations ". There is other treasure to be found in this rather shallow mine. Many readers may like best Moore's touchiness about a design which Yeats asks permission for his sister to work in wool for a cot cover. After long correspondence, Yeats admits that the cot cover is for his own increasing household. For Irish readers there are references to the Censorship Act which Yeats opposed so strongly and provocatively. There is also a discussion of the Irish coinage, so generally admired, opposed by some on its introduction as ' Pagan ' in concept.

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